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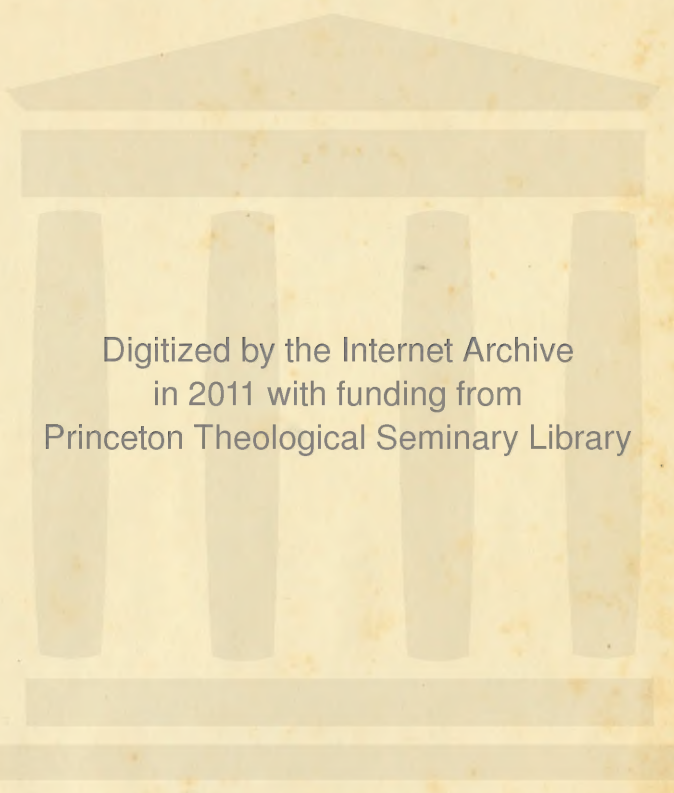
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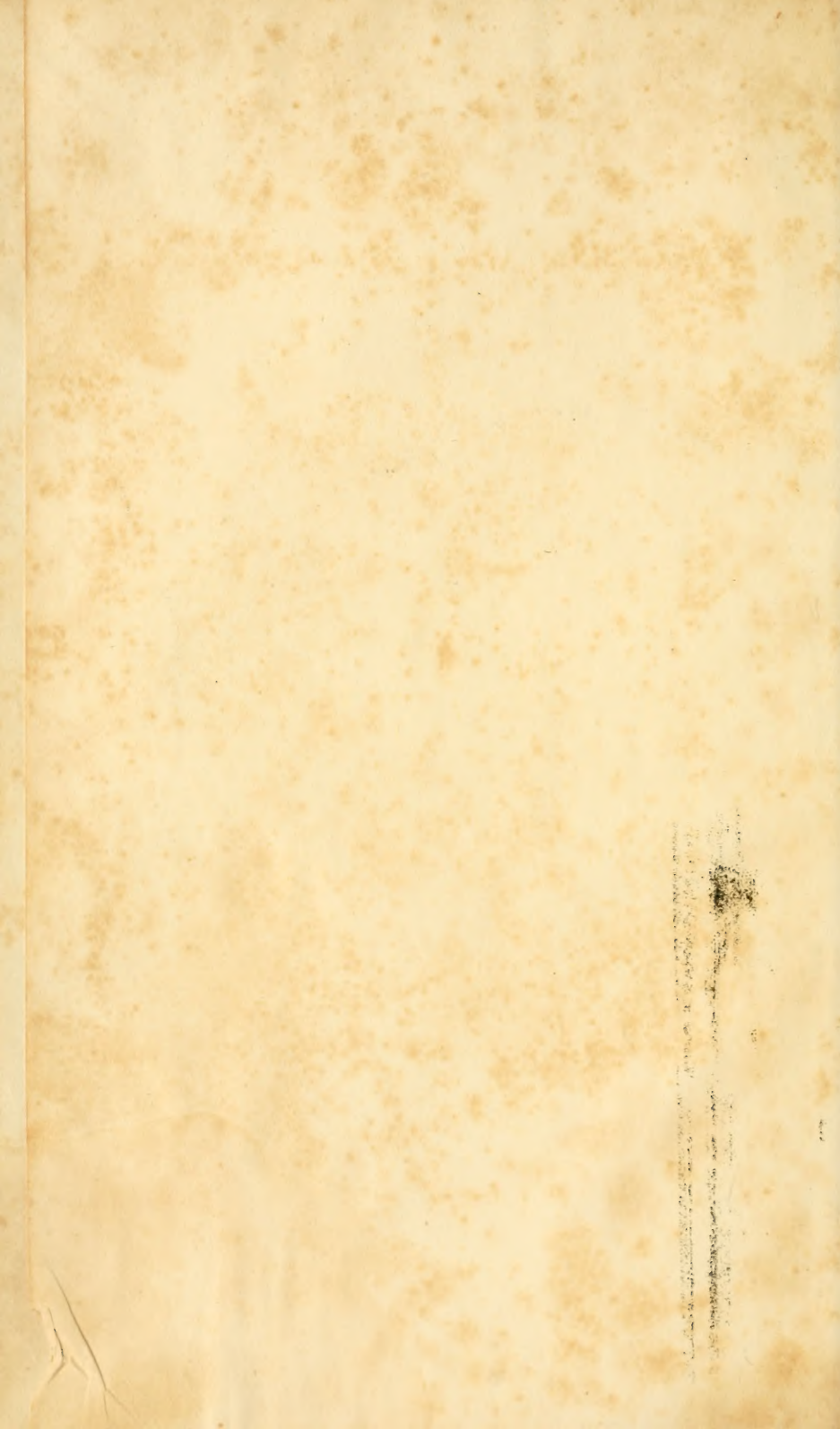




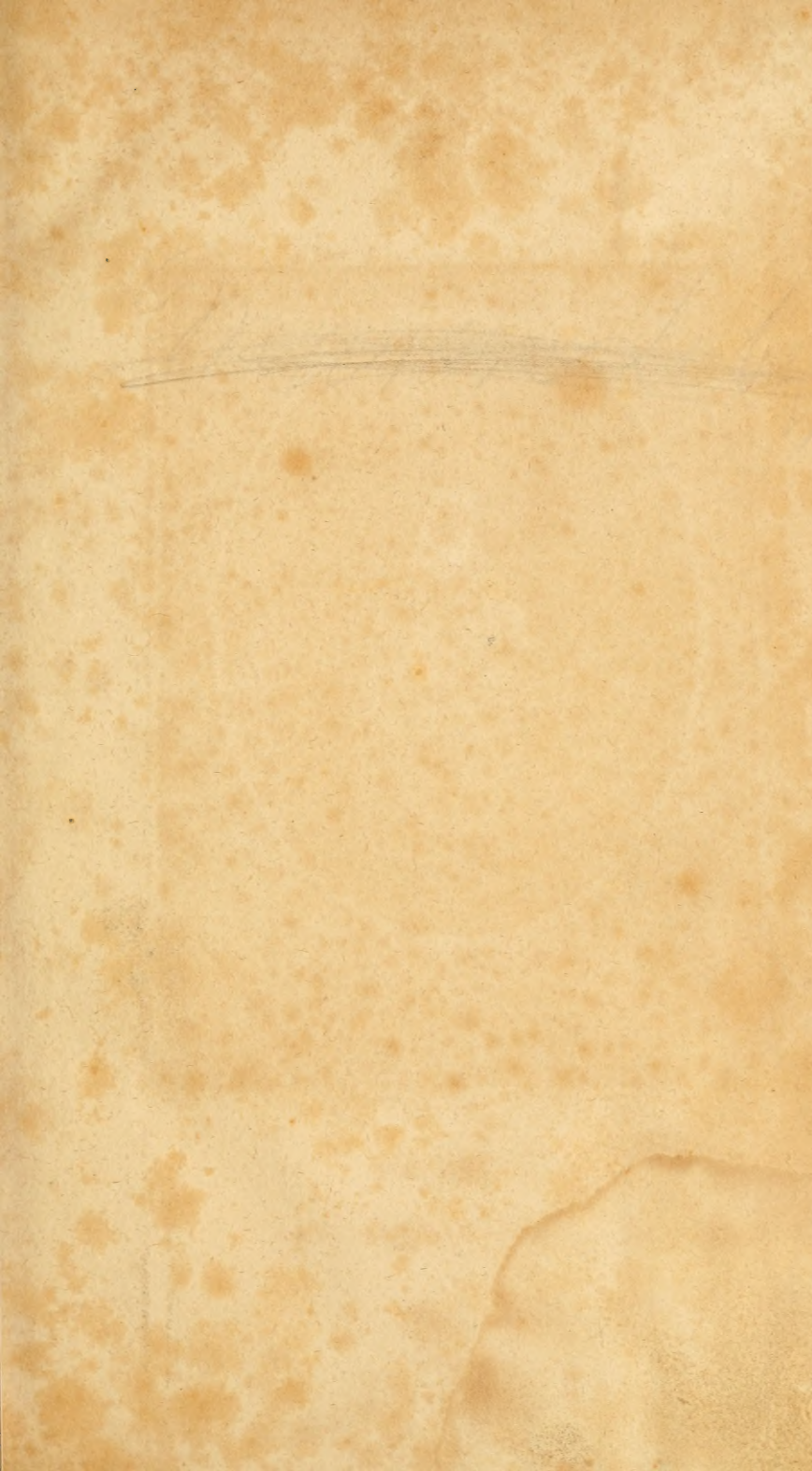
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JOHN KNOX.

*Beltinger Sc.*

*Published by Eastburn Kirk & Co. New York. 1813.*



THE  
LIFE OF JOHN KNOX:  
CONTAINING  
ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE HISTORY  
OF  
THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND;  
WITH  
BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF THE PRINCIPAL REFORMERS, AND  
SKETCHES OF THE PROGRESS OF LITERATURE  
IN SCOTLAND.  
DURING A GREAT PART OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED  
AN APPENDIX,  
CONSISTING OF LETTERS AND OTHER PAPERS,  
NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

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BY  
✓  
THOMAS M'CRIE,  
MINISTER OF THE GOSPEL, EDINBURGH.

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NEW-YORK:  
PUBLISHED BY EASTBURN, KIRK, & CO.  
NO. 86, BROADWAY,  
AND W. W. WOODWARD, PHILADELPHIA.

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1813.

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PRAY & BOWEN,  
PRINTERS, BROOKLYN.



## PREFACE.

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THE Reformation from Popery marks an epoch unquestionably the most important in the History of modern Europe. The effects of the change which it produced, in religion, in manners, in politics, and in literature, continue to be felt at the present day. Nothing, surely, can be more interesting than an investigation of the history of that period, and of those men who were the instruments, under Providence, of accomplishing a revolution which has proved so beneficial to mankind.

Though many able writers have employed their talents in tracing the causes and consequences of the Reformation, and though the leading facts respecting its progress in Scotland have been repeatedly stated, it occurred to me that the subject was by no means exhausted. I was confirmed in this opinion by a more minute examination of the ecclesiastical history of this country, which I began for my own satisfaction several years ago. While I

was pleased at finding that there existed such ample materials for illustrating the history of the Scottish Reformation, I could not but regret that no one had undertaken to digest and exhibit the information on this subject which lay hid in manuscripts, and in books which are now little known or consulted. Not presuming, however, that I had the ability or the leisure requisite for executing a task of such difficulty and extent, I formed the design of drawing up memorials of our national Reformer, in which his personal history might be combined with illustrations of the progress of that great undertaking, in the advancement of which he acted so conspicuous a part.

A work of this kind seemed to be wanting. The name of Knox, indeed, often occurs in the general histories of the period, and some of our historians have drawn, with their usual ability, the leading traits of a character with which they could not fail to be struck; but it was foreign to their object to detail the events of his life, and it was not to be expected that they would bestow that minute and critical attention on his history which is necessary to form a complete and accurate idea of his character. Memoirs of his life have been prefixed to editions of some of his works, and inserted in biographical collections and periodical publications; but in many instances their authors were destitute of proper information, and in others they



were precluded, by the limits to which they were confined, from entering into those minute statements, which are so useful for illustrating individual character, and render biography both pleasing and instructive. Nor can it escape observation, that a number of writers have been guilty of great injustice to the memory of our Reformer, and, from prejudice, from ignorance, or from inattention, have exhibited a distorted caricature, instead of a genuine portrait.

I was encouraged to prosecute my design, in consequence of my possessing a manuscript volume of Knox's Letters, which throw considerable light upon his character and history. The advantages which I have derived from this volume will appear in the course of the work, where it is quoted under the general title of *MS. Letters*.\*

The other MSS. which I have chiefly made use of are Calderwood's large History of the Church of Scotland, Row's History, and Wodrow's Collections. Calderwood's History, besides much valuable information respecting the early period of the Reformation, contains a collection of letters written by Knox between 1559 and 1572, which, together with those in my possession, extend over twenty years of the most active period of his life. I have carefully consulted this history as far as it relates

\* See an account of this MS. in p. 527, 528.

to the period of which I write. The copy which I quote most frequently belongs to the Church of Scotland. In the advocates Library, besides a complete copy of that work, there is a folio volume of it, reaching to the end of the year 1572. It was written in 1634, and has a number of interlineations and marginal alterations, differing from the other copies, which, if not made by the author's own hand, were most probably done under his eye. I have sometimes quoted this copy. The reader will easily discern when this is the case, as the references to it are made merely by the year under which the transaction is recorded, the volume not being paged.

Row, in composing the early part of his *Historie of the Kirk*, had the assistance of Memoirs written by David Ferguson, his father-in-law, who was admitted minister of Dunfermline at the establishment of the Reformation. Copies of this History seem to have been taken before the author had put the finishing hand to it, which may account for the additional matter to be found in some of them. I have occasionally quoted the copy which belongs to the Divinity Library in Edinburgh, but more frequently one transcribed in 1726, which is more full than any other copy that I have had access to see.

The industrious Wodrow had amassed a valuable collection of MSS. relating to the ecclesiastical his-

tory of Scotland, the greater part of which is now deposited in our public libraries. In the library of the University of Glasgow there are a number of volumes in folio, containing collections which he had made for illustrating the lives of the Scottish Reformers, and divines of the sixteenth century. These have supplied me with some interesting facts. They are quoted under the name of *Wodrow's MSS. in Bibl. Coll. Glas.*

For the transactions of the General Assembly I have consulted the Register, commonly called the *Book of the Universal Kirk*. There are several copies of this MS. in the country. That which is followed in this work, and which is the oldest that I have examined, belongs to the Advocates Library.

I have endeavoured to avail myself of the printed histories of the period, and of books published in the age of the Reformation, which often incidentally mention facts which are not recorded by historians. In the Advocates Library, which contains an invaluable treasure of information respecting Scottish affairs, I had the opportunity of examining the original editions of most of the Reformer's works. The rarest of all his tracts is the narrative of his Disputation with the Abbot of Crossraguel, which scarcely any writer since Knox's time seems to have seen. After I had given up all hopes of procuring a sight of this



curious tract, I was accidentally informed that a copy of it was in the library of Alexander Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck, who very politely communicated it to me.

In pointing out the sources which I have consulted, I wish not to be understood as intimating that the reader may expect, in the following work, much information which is absolutely new. Those who engage in researches of this kind, must lay their account with finding the result of their discoveries reduced within a small compass, and should be prepared to expect that many of their readers will only glance with a cursory eye what they procured with great, perhaps with unnecessary labour. The principal facts respecting the Reformation and the Reformer are already known. I flatter myself, however, that I have been able to place some of them in a new and more just light, and to bring forward others which have not hitherto been generally known.

The reader will find the authorities, upon which I have proceeded in the statement of facts, carefully marked; but my object was rather to be select than numerous in my references. When I had occasion to introduce facts which have been often repeated in histories, and are already established and unquestionable, I did not reckon it necessary to be so particular in producing the authorities.

After so many writers of Biography have incurred the charge either of uninteresting generality, or of tedious prolixity, it would betray great arrogance were I to presume that I had approached the due medium. I have particularly felt the difficulty, in writing the life of a public character, of observing the line which divides biography from general history. Desirous of giving unity to the narrative, and at the same time anxious to convey information respecting the ecclesiastical and literary history of the period, I have separated a number of facts and illustrations of this description, and placed them in notes at the end of the Life. I am not without apprehensions that I may have exceeded in the number or length of these notes, and that some readers may think that in attempting to relieve one part of the work, I have overloaded another.

No apology, I trust, will be deemed necessary for the freedom with which I have expressed my sentiments on the public questions which naturally occurred in the course of the narrative. Some of these are at variance with opinions which are popular in the present age; but it does not follow from this that they are false, or that they should have been suppressed. I have not become the indiscriminate panegyrist of the Reformer, but neither have I been deterred, by the apprehension of incurring this charge, from vindicating him wherever I considered his conduct to be justifiable, or from apologising for him against uncan-

did and exaggerated censures. The attacks which have been made on his character from so many quarters, and the attempts to wound the Reformation through him, must be my excuse for having so often adopted the language of apology.

In the Appendix I have inserted a number of Knox's letters, and other papers relative to that period, none of which, as far as I know, have formerly been published. Several others, intended for insertion in the same place, have been kept back, as the work has swelled to a greater size than was expected. A very scarce Poem, written in commendation of the Reformer, and published in the year after his death, is re-printed in the Supplement. It confirms several facts contained in the Life.

The portrait prefixed is engraved from a painting in the possession of the Right Honourable Lord Torphichen, with the use of which his Lordship, in the most obliging manner, favoured the publishers. There is every reason to think that it is a genuine likeness, as it strikingly agrees with the print of our Reformer, which Beza, who was personally acquainted with him, published in his *Icones*. I have now before me a small brass medal struck in memory of Knox. On the one side of it is a bust of him; on the other side is the following inscription in Roman capitals: JOANNES KNOXUS SCOTUS THEOLOGUS ECCLESIAE EDIMBURGENSIS PASTOR. OBIIT EDIMBURGI AN. 1572.



ÆT. 57. It appears to have been executed at a period much later than the Reformer's death. There is an error of ten years as to his age; and as Beza has fallen into the same mistake, it is not improbable that the inscription was copied from his *Icones*, and that the medal was struck on the continent.

When the printing of the following Life was finished, and I was employed in correcting the Notes at the end, a *History of the Reformation in Scotland*, by *Dr. Cook of Laurencekirk*, was published. After what I have already said, I need scarcely add, that the appearance of such a work gave me great satisfaction. The author is a friend to civil and religious liberty; he has done justice to the talents and character of the Reformers, and evinced much industry and impartiality in examining the authorities from which he has taken his materials. Had he had more full access to the sources of information, he would no doubt have done greater justice to the subject, and rendered his work still more worthy of public favour; but I trust that it will be useful in correcting mistakes and prejudices which are extremely common, and in exciting attention to a branch of our national history which has been long neglected. Where our subject coincides, I have in general observed an agreement in the narrative, and sometimes in the reflections: in several instances, however, we differ materially in the statement of facts, in the judgment

which we have expressed about them, and in the delineation of character. The judicious reader will decide on which side the truth lies, by comparing the reasons which we have advanced, and the authorities to which we have appealed.

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**THE LIFE**  
**OF**  
**JOHN KNOX.**

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**PERIOD I.**

**FROM HIS BIRTH, ANNO 1505, TO HIS EMBRACING OF  
THE REFORMED RELIGION, ANNO 1542.**

JOHN KNOX was born in the year one thousand, five hundred, and five. The place of his nativity has been disputed. That he was born at Gifford, a village in East Lothian, has been the most prevailing opinion;\* but the tradition of the country fixes his birth at Haddington, the principal town of the county. The house in which he is said to have been born is still shewn

\* Beza, who was contemporary, and personally acquainted with our Reformer, designs him “*Joannes Cnoxus, Scotus, Giffordiensis,*” *Icones Virorum Illustrium*, Ee. iij. Anno 1580. Spottiswood says he was “born in Gifford, within Lothian,” *History*, p. 265. Anno 1677. David Buchanan, in the account of Knox, prefixed to the edition of his *History of the Reformation*, published Anno 1644, gives the same account; which has been adopted in all the sketches of his life, that have accompanied his history, even in the edition printed from authentic MSS. Anno 1732. In a “*Genealogical account of the Knoxes,*” (a MS. in the possession of the family of the late Mr. James Knox, Minister of Scoon)

by the inhabitants, in one of the suburbs of the town, called the *Gifford-gate*. This house, with some adjoining acres of land, continued to be possessed by the family until about 50 years ago, when it was purchased from them by the Earl of Wemyss \*

The name of his mother was *Sinclair*.† His father was descended from an ancient and respectable family, who possessed the lands of Knock, Ranferly, and Craigends, in the shire of Renfrew. The descendants of this family have been accustomed to claim him as a cadet, and to enumerate among the honours of their house, that it gave birth to the Scottish Reformer, a bishop of Raphoe, and of the Isles.‡ At what particular period his ancestors removed from their original seat, and settled in Lothian, I have not been able exactly to ascertain.§

the reformer's father is said to have been proprietor of the estate of Gifford. Scott's History of the Reformers in Scotland, p. 94.

\* Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries in Scotland, p. 69, 70. Archibald Hamilton, a contemporary and a countryman of Knox, gives the same account of the place of his birth. "Obscuris natus parentibus in Hadintona, oppido in Laudonia." De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos, Dialogus, p. 64. Parisiis, 1577. Hamilton, indeed, is a writer entitled to no credit, when he had any temptation to lie; but as to such a circumstance as this, there is no reason to suspect him of intentional falsification. Another writer of the same kidney says, that he was born "*prope Hadintonam*," Laingæus (Scotus) De Vita, et Moribus, atque rebus gestis Hæreticorum nostri temporis. Parisiis, 1581.

† In letters written by the reformer, in times of persecution or war, when there was a risk of their being intercepted, he was accustomed to subscribe, "John Sinclair." Under this signature at one of them, in the collection of his letters in my possession, is the following note: "yis was his mother's surname, wlk he wrait in time of trubill." MS. Letters, p. 3 46.

‡ Nisbet's Heraldry, p. 180. Crawford's Renfrew, by Semple, part II. p. 30, 139. Account of Knox, prefixed to his History, Anno 1732, page ii. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 177.

§ David Buchanan, *ut supra*, says that "his father was a brother son of the house of Ranferlie." The account which the Reformer



Obscurity of parentage can reflect no dishonour upon him who has raised himself to distinction, by his virtues and talents. But the assertion of some writers, that our Reformer's parents were in poor circumstances, is contradicted by facts. They were able to give their son a liberal education, which, in that age, was far from being common. In his youth he was put to the grammar-school of Haddington; and, after acquiring the principles of the Latin language there, was sent, by his father, to the university of St. Andrew's, at that time the most celebrated seminary in the kingdom.\* This was about

himself gave of his ancestors, in a conversation with the Earl of Bothwell, implies that they had settled in East Lothian, as early as the days of his great-grandfather: "My Lord, (says he) my great-grandfather, gudeselhir, and father, have served your Lordship's predecessours, and some of them have dyed under their standards; and this is a pairt of the obligatioun of our Scottissh kindness."—Knox, *Historie of the Reformatioun*. p. 306.

\* Dr. Mackenzie says, the reformer was "the son of a poor countryman, as we are informed by those who knew him very well: his parents, though in a mean condition, put their son to the grammar-school of Haddington; where, after he had learned his grammar, he served for some time the laird of Langniddrie's children, who being sent by their parents to the university of St. Andrews, he thereby had occasion of learning his philosophy." *Lives of Scottish Writers*, Part iii. p. 111. As his authorities for these assertions, the Doctor has printed on the margin, "Dr. Hamilton, Dr. Baillie, and many others;" popish writers, who, regardless of their own character, fabricated or retailed such tales as they thought most discreditable to the reformer, many of which Mackenzie himself is obliged to pronounce "ridiculous stories that are altogether improbable," p. 132. Dr. Baillie was Alexander Baillie, a Benedictine Monk in the Scottish monastery of Wirtsburgh; and, as he wrote in the year 1628, it is ridiculous to talk of his being well acquainted either with the reformer or his father. Hamilton, (the earliest authority) instead of supporting Mackenzie's assertions, informs us, so far as his language is intelligible, that he was in priests orders before he undertook the care of children: "*quo victum sibi pararet magis, quam ut deo*

the year 1524;\* at which time George Buchanan commenced his studies, under the same masters, and in the same college of St. Salvador.

The state of learning in Scotland at this period, and the progress which it made in the subsequent part of the century, have not been examined with the attention which they deserve, and which has been bestowed on contemporaneous subjects of inferior importance. There were unquestionably learned Scotsmen in the early part of the sixteenth century; but the most of them owed their chief acquirements to the advantage of a foreign education. Those improvements, which the revival of literature had introduced into the schools of Italy and France, were long in reaching the universities of Scotland, originally formed upon their model, and, when they did arrive, were regarded with a suspicious eye. The principal branches cultivated in our universities were the Aristotelian philosophy, scholastic theology, with canon and civil law.† The schools

*serviret (Simonis illius magi huc usque sequutus vestigia) presbyter primum fieri de more quamvis illiteratus tum in privatis ædibus puerorum in vulgaribus literis formandorum curam capere coactus est."* De Confusione Calv. Sectæ, p. 64. The fact is, that Knox entered into the family of Langniddrie as tutor, *after* he had finished his education at St. Andrews; and as late as Anno 1547, he was employed in teaching the young men their grammar. *Historie*, p. 67.

\* I have not received the information which enables me to ascertain the particular year in which Knox entered the university, but expect to have it in my power to insert it in the Appendix.

† Boetii Vita Episcoporum. Murthlac. et Aberdon. fol. xxix. coll. cum fol. xxvi.—xxviii. Impress. Anno 1522. This little work is of great value, and contains almost the only authentic notices which we possess, as to the state of learning in Scotland, about the beginning of the sixteenth century. Mackenzie, the copiator of the fabulous Dempster, (who gives an account of learned men that never existed, and of books that no man ever saw or could see,) talks of almost every writer whom he mentions, as finishing the course of

erected in the principal towns of the kingdom afforded the means of instruction in the Latin tongue, the knowledge of which, in some degree, was requisite for enabling the clergy to perform the religious service.\* But the *Greek* language, long after it had been enthusiastically studied on the continent, and

his studies in the *Belles Lettres* and Philosophy” in one of the Scots Universities. These are merely words of course. Some of the Aristotelian rules concerning rhetoric might be delivered by the professor of scholastic philosophy; but until the Reformation, there does not appear to have been any course of this kind. At that period, a course of rhetoric was appointed to be taught in the colleges. First Book of Discipline, p. 40. 42. Edit. Anno 1621.

\* Among the grammar-schools in Scotland, those of *Aberdeen* and *Perth* seem to have been distinguished, during the first half of the sixteenth century. *John Vaus* was Rector of the former, about the year 1520, and is celebrated by Boece, at that time Principal of the University of Aberdeen, for his knowledge of the Latin tongue, and success in the education of youth. From Boece’s account, a very close connection seems to have been established between his school and the university. Boetii Vitæ, *ut supra*, fol. xxx. *Vaus* was the author of a Latin Grammar, printed at Edinburgh, by R. Lepreuk, Anno 1566, which is now exceedingly rare.

*Andrew Simson* was master of the school of *Perth*, although at a period somewhat later than the former, and taught Latin with much success. A greater number of learned men proceeded from his school than from any other in the kingdom. He had sometimes under his charge 300 boys, many of them sons of the principal nobility and gentry in the kingdom. Row’s MS. Historie, p. 3, 4. He left *Perth* at the establishment of the Reformation 1560, and became minister of *Dunning* and *Cargill*, from which he was translated, Anno 1564, to *Dunbar*, where he sustained the double office of master of the grammar-school, and minister of the parish. He was the author of *Latin Rudiments*, which continued to be taught in the schools until the time of *Ruddiman*, and were much esteemed by that excellent scholar. Row, *ut supra*, Keith, p. 534. *Chalmer’s Life of Ruddiman*, p. 21, 22. 63. At the Reformation, the Protestant clergy recommended and earnestly pressed the erection of a school in every parish. First Book of Discipline p. 40. In many instances this was complied with: but it was not enacted by Parliament, until Anno 1633.



after it had become a fixed branch of education in the neighbouring kingdom, continued to be almost unknown in Scotland. Individuals acquired the knowledge of it abroad; but the first attempts to teach it in this country were of a private nature, and exposed their patrons to the suspicion of heresy. The town of MONTROSE is distinguished by being the first place, as far as I have been able to discover, in which Greek was taught in Scotland; and JOHN ERSKINE of DUN is entitled to the honour of being regarded as the first of his countrymen who patronized the study of that polite and useful language. As early as the year 1534, that enlightened and public-spirited baron, on returning from his travels, brought with him a Frenchman, skilled in the Greek tongue, whom he settled in Montrose; and, upon his removal, he liberally encouraged others to come from France and succeed to his place. From this private seminary, many Greek scholars proceeded, and the knowledge of the language was gradually diffused through the kingdom.\* After this statement, I need scarcely add, that the Oriental tongues were at this time utterly unknown in this country. It was not until the establishment of the Reformation, that *Hebrew* began to be studied; and JOHN ROW was the first who taught it, having opened a class for this purpose in the year 1560, immediately upon his settlement as minister in Perth.† From that time, the knowledge of the Greek and the Eastern languages advanced among our countrymen with a rapid pace.‡

\* Life of John Erskine of Dun, p. 2. apud Wodrow MSS. in Glas. Coll. Lib. The industrious collector had access to some of Erskine's papers, when employed in compiling his life.

† Row's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland*, MS. (*Mhi*,) p. 372, 373.

‡ See Note A.

**KNOX** acquired the Greek language before he reached middle age; but we find him acknowledging, as late as the year 1550, that he was ignorant of Hebrew, a defect in his education which he exceedingly lamented, and which he afterwards got supplied during his exile on the continent.\*

**JOHN MAIR**, better known by his Latin name, **MAJOR**, was professor of philosophy and theology at St. Andrews, when Knox attended the university. The minds of young men, and their future train of thinking, often receive an important direction from the master under whom they were first trained to study, especially if his reputation be high. Major was at that time deemed an oracle in the sciences which he taught; and as he was the preceptor of Knox and the celebrated scholar Buchanan, it may be proper to advert to some of his opinions. He had received the greater part of his education in France, and acted for some time as professor in the university of Paris. In that situation, he had acquired a habit of thinking and expressing himself on certain subjects, more liberal than was adopted in his native country and other parts of Europe. He had imbibed the sentiments concerning ecclesiastical polity, maintained by John Gerson, Peter D'Ailly, and others who defended the decrees of the Council of Constance, and liberties of the Gallican church, against those who asserted the incontroulable authority of the Sovereign Pontiff. He taught that a General Council was superior to the Pope, might judge, rebuke, restrain, and even depose him from his dignity; denied the temporal supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and his right to inaugurate or dethrone

\* "In the Hebrew tounge, (says he, in his defence before the Bishop of Durham) I confess myself ignorant. but have, as God knaweth, fervent thirst to have sum entrance thairin." MS. Letters, p. 16.

princes ; maintained that ecclesiastical censures and even papal excommunications had no force, if pronounced on invalid or irrelevant grounds ; he held that tithes were merely of human appointment, not divine right ; censured the avarice, ambition, and secular pomp of the court of Rome and the episcopal order ; was no warm friend of the regular clergy ; and advised the reduction of monasteries and holidays.\*

His opinions respecting civil government were analogous to those which he held as to ecclesiastical policy. He taught that the authority of kings and princes was originally derived from the people ; that the former are not superior to the latter collectively considered ; that if rulers become tyrannical, or employ their power for the destruction of their subjects, they may lawfully be controuled by them, and, proving incorrigible, may be deposed by the community as the superior power ; and that tyrants may be judicially proceeded against, even to capital punishment.†

The affinity between these, and the political principles afterwards avowed by Knox, and defended by the classic pen of Buchanan, is too striking to require illustration. Though Major was not the first Scottish writer who had expressed some of these sentiments, it is highly probable, that the oral instructions and writings of their teacher first suggested to them those principles, which were confirmed by subsequent reading and reflection ; and consequently contributed to bring about those great changes which were afterwards effected by means of them. Nor

\* These sentiments are collected from his *Commentary on the Third Book of the Master of Sentences*, and from his *Exposition of Matthew's Gospel* ; printed in Latin at Paris, the former Anno 1517, and the latter Anno 1518.

† See Note B.



would his ecclesiastical opinions fail to have their share of influence upon the train of their thoughts.

But though, in these respects, the opinions of Major were more free and rational than those generally entertained at that time; it must be confessed, that the portion of instruction which his scholars could derive from him was extremely small, if we allow his publications to be a fair specimen of his academical prelections. Many of the questions which he discusses are utterly useless and trifling; the rest are rendered disgusting by the most servile adherence to all the minutiae of the scholastic mode of reasoning. The reader of his works must be content with painfully picking a grain of truth from the rubbish of many pages; nor will the drudgery be compensated by those discoveries of inventive genius and acute discrimination, for which the writings of Aquinas, and some others of that subtle school, may still deserve to be consulted. Major is entitled to praise, for exposing to his countrymen several of the more glaring errors and abuses of his time; but his mind was deeply tinctured with superstition, and he defended some of the absurdest tenets of popery by the most ridiculous and puerile arguments.\* His talents were moderate; with the writings of the ancients, he appears to have been acquainted only through the medium of the collectors of the middle

\* Lord Hailes, having given an example of this, adds, "After this, can Buchanan be censured for saying that he was '*solo cognomine Major?*'" Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, p. 11. By the bye, it was Major who first said this of himself. It was the sight of these words, "*Joannes, solo cognomine, Major,*" in the dedicatory epistle to his writings, that drew from Buchanan the satirical lines, which have been so often appealed to by his enemies, as infallible proof of the badness of his heart. If fault there was in this, we may certainly make the apology which his learned editor produces for him in another case, "*non tam hominis vitium, quam poetæ.*" Poets and wits cannot always spare their best friends.

ages; nor does he ever hazard an opinion, or pursue a speculation, beyond what he found marked out by some approved doctor of the church. Add to this, that his style is, to an uncommon degree, harsh and forbidding; "*exile, aridum, conscissum, acinutum.*"

Knox and Buchanan soon became disgusted with such studies, and began to seek entertainment more gratifying to their ardent and inquisitive minds. Having set out in search of knowledge, they released themselves from the trammels, and overleaped the boundaries, prescribed to them by their timid conductor. Each following the native bent of his genius and inclination, they separated in the prosecution of their studies; Buchanan, indulging in a more excursive range, explored the extensive fields of literature, and wandered in the flowery mead of poesy; while Knox, passing through the avenues of secular learning, devoted himself to the study of divine truth, and the labours of the sacred ministry. Both, however kept uniformly in view the advancement of true religion and liberty, with the love of which they were equally smitten; and as they suffered a long and painful exile, and were exposed to many dangers during their lives, for adherence to this kindred cause, so their memories have not been divided, in the profuse but honourable obloquy with which they have been aspersed by its enemies, or in the deserved grateful recollections of its genuine friends.\*

\* Buchanan always mentions Knox in terms of high respect, *Oper. Ruddiman*, p. 313, 321, 366. And the Reformer, in his history, has borne testimony to the virtues as well as splendid talents of Buchanan: "That notable man, Mr. George Buequhanane—remainis alyve to this day, in the yeir of God 1566 years, to the glory of God, to the gret honour of this natioun, and to the comfort of thame that delyte in letters and vertew. That singulare wark of David's Psalmes, in Latin meetere and poesie, besyde mony uther, can witness the rare graices of God gevin to that man." p. 24.

But we must not suppose, that Knox was able at once to divest himself of the prejudices of his education and of the times. Barren and repulsive as the scholastic studies appear to our minds, there was something in the intricate and subtle sophistry then in vogue, calculated to fascinate the youthful and ingenious mind. It had a shew of wisdom; it exercised, although it did not feed the understanding; it even gave play to the imagination, while it exceedingly flattered the pride of the adept. Nor was it easy for the person who had suffered himself to be drawn in, to break through or extricate himself from the mazy labyrinth. Accordingly, Knox continued for some time captivated with these studies, and prosecuted them with great success. After he was created Master of Arts, he taught philosophy, most probably as an assistant, or private lecturer in the university.\* His class became celebrated; and he was considered as equalling, if not excelling, his master, in the subtleties of the dialectic art.† About the same time, he was advanced to clerical orders, and ordained a priest, before he reached the age fixed by the canons of the church;‡ although he had

\* It was not unusual in the universities, at that period, to select some of the students who had been laureated, and made the greatest proficiency; and to employ them as assistants to the professors. Boetii Vitæ Episcop. Aberd. fol. xxix, xxx.

† “In hæc igitur Anthropotheologia egregie versatus Cnoxus, eandem et magna autoritate docuit: visusque fuit magistro suo (si qua in subtilitate felicitas,) in quibusdam felicior.” Verheiden, *Effigies et Elogia Præstant. Theolog.* p. 92. Hagæcomit. Anno 1602, and p. 69. of edit. Anno 1725. Melch. Adami Vitæ Theolog. Exter. p. 137. Francofurti, Anno 1618.

‡ Some have hesitated to admit that Knox was in priests orders in the church of Rome: I think it unquestionable. The fact is attested both by Protestant and Popish writers. Beza says, “Cnoxus, igitur (ut manifeste appareat totum hoc admirabile Domini opus esse) ad Joannis illius Majoris, celeberrimi inter Sophistas nominis, veluti pedes in Sanctandree oppido educatus, at-



no other interest, except what was procured by his own merit, or the recommendations of his teachers. This must have taken place previous to the year 1530, at which time he was twenty-five years of age.

It was not long, however, till his studies received a new direction, which led to a complete revolution in his religious sentiments, and had an important influence on the whole of his future life. Not satisfied with the excerpts from ancient authors, which he found in the writings of the scholastic divines and canonists, he resolved to have recourse to the original works. In them he found a method of investigating and communicating truth, to which he had hitherto been a stranger; the simplicity of which recommended itself to his mind, in spite of the prejudices of education, and the pride of superior at-

que adeo SACERDOS FACTUS, appertaque celebri schola, quum jam videretur illo suo præceptore nihil inferior Sophista futurus, lucem tamen in tenebris et sibi et aliis accendit, "leones Illustr. Viror. Ee. iij. Comp. Spottiswood's History, p. 265. Lond. 1677. *Ninian Winzet*, in certain letters sent by him to Knox in the year 1561, says, "Ye renunce and estemis that ordinationn null or erar wikit, be the quhilk sumtyme ye war callit *Schir Johne*." And again: "We can persave, be your awin allegiance, na power that ever ye had, except it quhilk was gevin to you in the sacrament of ordinationn, be auctoritie of priesthed. Quhilk auctoritie give ye esteme as nochtis, be reason it was gevin to you (as ye speik) by ane Papist Bishope," &c. *Winzet's Letteris and Tractatis*, apud Keith, Append. p. 212, 213. *Winzet's* drift was to prove, that Knox had no lawful call to the ministry; consequently, he would never have mentioned his popish ordination, if the fact had not been notour and undeniable. *Nicol Burne*, arguing on the same point, urges that, though he had received the power of orders, he wanted that of jurisdiction. *Disputation concerning the Controversit Headdis of Religion*, p. 128. Paris 1581. And in a scurrilous poem against the ministers of Scotland, printed at the end of that book, he calls him,

————— that fals apostat priest,  
 Enemy to Christ, and mannis salvatioun:  
 Your Maister *Knox*.



tainments in his own favourite art. Among the fathers of the Christian church, Jerom and Augustine attracted his particular attention. By the writings of the former, he was led to the scriptures as the only pure fountain of divine truth, and instructed in the utility of studying them in the original languages. In the works of the latter, he found religious sentiments very opposite to those taught in the Romish church, who, while she retained his name as a saint in her calendar, had banished his doctrine, as heretical, from her pulpits. From this time, he renounced the study of scholastic theology; and, although not yet completely emancipated from superstition, his mind was fitted for improving the means which Providence had prepared, for leading him to a fuller and more comprehensive view of the system of evangelical religion. It was about the year 1535, when this favourable change of his sentiments commenced;\* but, until 1542, it does not appear that he professed himself a protestant.

As I am now to enter upon that period of Knox's life, in which he renounced the Roman Catholic communion, and commenced reformer, it may not be improper to take a survey of the state of the church and of religion at that time in Scotland. Without an adequate knowledge of this, it is impossible to form a just estimate of the necessity and importance of that Reformation, in the advancement of which he laboured with so great zeal; and nothing has contributed so much to give currency, among Protestants, to prejudices against his character and actions, than ignorance and a superficial consideration of the enormous and almost incredible abuses which reigned in the church. This must be my apo-

\* Bezae Icones. Verheidenii Effigies. Melchior. Adam. Spottiswood. *Ubi supra.*

logy, for what otherwise might be deemed a superfluous and disproportioned digression.

THE corruptions by which the Christian religion was universally depraved, before the Reformation, had grown to a greater height in Scotland, than in any other nation within the pale of the Western church. Superstition and religious imposture, in their grossest forms, gained an easy admission among a rude and ignorant people. By means of these, the clergy attained to an exorbitant degree of opulence and power; which were accompanied, as they always have been, with the corruption of their order, and of the whole system of religion.

The full half of the wealth of the nation belonged to the clergy; and the greater part of this was in the hands of a few of their number, who had the command of the whole body. Avarice, ambition, and the love of secular pomp, reigned among the superior orders. Bishops and Abbots rivalled the first nobility in magnificence, and preceded them in honours; they were Privy-Counsellors and Lords of Session, as well as of Parliament, and had long engrossed the principal offices of state. A vacant bishopric or abbacy called forth powerful competitors, who contended for it as for a principality or petty kingdom; it was obtained by similar arts, and not unfrequently taken possession of by the same weapons.\* Inferior benefices were openly put to

\* During the minority of James V. the celebrated *Gawin Douglas* was recommended by the Queen to the Archbishopric of St. Andrews; but John Hepburn, prior of the regular canons, opposed the nomination, and took the Archiepiscopal palace by storm. Douglas afterwards laid siege to the cathedral of Dunkeld, and carried it, more by the thunder of his cannon, than the dread of the excommunication which he threatened to fulminate against his antagonist. *Buch. Hist.* xiii. 44. *Spottis.* 61.

sale, or bestowed on the illiterate and unworthy minions of courtiers; on dice-players, strolling bards, and the bastards of bishops.\* Pluralities were multiplied without bounds, and benefices given *in commendam* were kept vacant, during the life of the commendatory, sometimes during several lives,† to the deprivation of extensive parishes of all provision of religious service; if a deprivation it could be called, at a time when the cure of souls was no longer regarded as attached to livings, originally endowed for this purpose. There was not such a thing known as for a bishop to preach; indeed, I scarce recollect a single instance of it, mentioned in history, from the erection of the regular Scottish episcopate, down to the period of the Reformation.‡ The practice was even gone into dissuetude among all the secular

\* Sir David Lindsay's Works, by Chalmers, I. 344, II. 237, 238.

† The Popes were accustomed to grant liberty to the commendatories to dispose of benefices which they held by this tenure, to others who should succeed to them after their death. Introduction to Scot's Biography, apud Wodrow MSS. vol. 9. p. 171; in Bibl. Coll. Glas. As late as Anno 1534, Clement VII. granted, *in commendam*, to his nephew Hypolitus Cardinal de Medici, *all the benefices in the world*, secular and regular, dignities and parsonages, simple and with cure, being vacant, for six months; with power to dispose of all their fruits, and convert them to his own use. Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, lib. i. p. 251. Lond. Anno 1620.

‡ One exception occurs, and must not be omitted. When George Wishart was preaching in Ayr, Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, took possession of the pulpit, in order to exclude the reformer. Some of Wishart's more zealous hearers would have dispossessed the bishop, but the reformer would not suffer them. "The bischope preiehit to his jackmen, and to sum auld boisses of the toun. The soun of all his sermone was, They sey, we sould preiche: Quhy not? Better lait thryve nor nevir thryve. Had us still for your bischope, and we sall provyde better the nixt tyme." Knox, Historic, p. 44.



clergy, and was wholly devolved on the mendicant monks, who employed it for the most mercenary purposes.\*

The lives of the clergy, exempted from secular jurisdiction, and corrupted by wealth and idleness were become a scandal to religion, and an outrage on decency. While they professed chastity, and prohibited, under the severest penalties, any of the ecclesiastical order from contracting lawful wedlock, the bishops set the example of the most shameless profligacy before the inferior clergy; avowedly kept their harlots; provided their natural sons with benefices; and gave their daughters in marriage to the sons of the nobility and principal gentry; many of whom were so mean as to contaminate the blood of their families by such base alliances, for the sake of the rich dowries which they brought.†

Through the blind devotion and munificence of princes and nobles, monasteries, those nurseries of superstition and idleness, had greatly multiplied in the nation; and though they had universally degenerated, and were notoriously become the haunts of

\* War not the preiching of the begging freiris,  
Tint war the faith amang the seculeris.

Lindsay, *ut supra*, i. 343. comp. ii. 401.

† Lord Haile's Notes on Ancient Scottish Poems, p. 249, 250, 297, 309. We need not to appeal to the testimony of the reformers, or to satirical poems published at the time, in proof of the extreme profligacy of the popish clergy. The truth is registered in the acts of Parliament, in the decrees of their own councils, (Wilkin. Concil. tom. 4. p. 46—60. Keith's Hist. pref. 11.) in the records of legitimation, (Lord Hailes, *ut supra*, p. 249, 250.) and in the confessions of their own writers, (Kennedy and Winget, apud Keith, Apend. 202, 205—7. Lesley Hist. 232. Father Alexander Baillie's True Information of the Unhallowed Offspring, &c. of our Scottish-Calvinian Gospel, p. 15, 16. Wirtzburgh. Anno 1628.)



lewdness and debauchery, it was deemed impious and sacrilegious to reduce their number, abridge their privileges, or alienate their funds.\* The kingdom swarmed with ignorant, idle, luxurious monks, who, like locusts, devoured the fruits of the earth, and filled the air with pestilential infection: friars, white, black, and grey; canons regular, and of St. Anthony, Carmelites, Carthusians, Cordeliers, Dominicans, Franciscan Conventuals, and Observantines, Jacobines, Premonstratensians, monks of Tyrone, and of Vallis Caulium, Hospitallers, or Holy Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; nuns of St. Austin, St. Clare, St. Scholastica, and St. Catharine of Sienna, with canonesses of various clans.†

The ignorance of the clergy respecting religion was as gross as the dissoluteness of their morals. Even bishops were not ashamed to confess that they were unacquainted with the canon of their faith, and had never read any part of the sacred scriptures, except what they met with in their missals.‡ Under such

\* In consequence of a very powerful confederacy against the religious knights, called *Templars*, and upon charges of the most flagitious crimes, that order was suppressed by a General Council, Anno 1312; but their possessions were conferred upon another order of sacred knights. The plenitude of papal power was stretched to the very utmost, in this dread attempt. “*Quanquam* (says his holiness in the Bull) *de jure non possumus, tamen ad plenitudinem potestatis dictum ordinem reprobamus.*” Walsingham, *Histor. Angl.* p. 99. When the Gilbertine monks retired from Scotland, because the air of the country did not agree with them, their revenues were, upon their resignation, transferred to the monastery of Paisley. Keith’s *Scottish Bishops*, p. 266.

† See Note C.

‡ Fox, p. 1153, printed Anno 1596. Chalmers’s *Lindsay*, ii. 62, 63, 64. Lord Haile’s *Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy*, p. 30. Sir Ralph Sadler’s testimony to the clergy as the only men of learning about the court of James V. may seem to contradict what I have asserted. But Sadler speaks merely of their talents for political management, and in the same letters gives a proof of

pastors the people perished for lack of knowledge. That book which was able to make them wise unto salvation, and intended to be equally accessible by "Jew and Greek, Barbarian and Scythian, bond and free," was locked up from them, and the use of it, in their own tongue, prohibited under the heaviest penalties. The religious service was mumbled over in a dead language, which many of the priests did not understand, and some of them could scarce read; and the greatest care was taken to prevent even catechisms, composed and approved by the clergy, from coming into the hands of the laity.\*

Scotland, from her local situation, had been less exposed to disturbance from the encroaching ambition, vexatious exactions, and fulminating anathemas of the Vatican court, than the countries in the immediate vicinity of Rome. But from the same cause, it was more easy for the domestic clergy to keep up on the minds of the people that excessive veneration for the Holy See, which could not be long felt by those who had the opportunity of witnessing its vices and worldly politics.† The burdens which

their ignorance in other respects. The clergy at that time made law their principal study, and endeavoured to qualify themselves for offices of state. This, however, engaged their whole attention, and they were grossly ignorant in their own profession. Sadler's State Papers, i. 47, 48. Edin. 1809. Knox, Historie, p. 18.

Andrew Forman, bishop of Murray, and papal legate for Scotland, being obliged to *say grace* at an entertainment which he gave to the Pope and Cardinals in Rome, blundered so in his latinity, that his Holiness and their Eminences lost their gravity, which so disconcerted the bishop, that he concluded the blessing, by giving *all the false carills to the devil, in nomine patris, filii, et sancti spiritus*; to which the company, not understanding his Scoto-Latin, said *Amen*. "The holy bishop (says Pitseottie) was not a good scholar, and had not good Latin." History, p. 106.

\* Lord Haile's Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, p. 36.

† Luther often mentioned to his familiar acquaintances the advantage which he derived from a visit to Rome in 1510; and used

attended a state of dependance upon a remote foreign jurisdiction, were severely felt. Though the popes did not enjoy the power of presenting to the Scottish prelacies, they wanted not numerous pretexts for interfering with them. The most important causes of a civil nature, which the ecclesiastical courts had contrived to bring within their jurisdiction, were frequently carried to Rome. Large sums of money were annually exported out of the kingdom, for the purchasing of palls, the confirmation of benefices, the conducting of appeals, and for many other purposes; in exchange for which, were received leaden bulls, woollen palls, wooden images, plenty of old bones, with similar articles of precious consecrated mummery.\*

Of the doctrine of Christianity, scarce any thing remained but the name. Instead of being directed to offer up their adorations to one God, the people were taught to divide them among an innumerable company of inferior objects. A plurality of media-

to say that he would not exchange that journey for 1000 florins; so much did it contribute to open his eyes to the corruptions of the Romish court, and to weaken his prejudices. Melchior. Adami Vitæ Germ. Theol. p. 104. Erasmus had a sensation of the same kind, although weaker. John Rough, one of the Scottish Reformers, felt in a similar way, after visiting Rome. Fox, 1841.

\* Notwithstanding laws repeatedly made to restrain persons from going to Rome, to obtain benefices, the practice was greatly on the increase about the time of the Reformation.

It is schort tyme sen ony benefice

Was sped in Rome, except great bishoprics;

But now, for ane unworthie vickarage,

A priest will rin to Rome in pilgrimage.

Ane cavill was never at the seule

Well rin to Rome, and keep ane bishopsis mule:

And syne eum hame with mony colorit crack,

With ane burdin of beneficeis on his back.

Chalmers's Lindsay, lib. 66.



tors shared the honour of procuring the divine favour, with the "One Mediator between God and man;" and more petitions were presented to the Virgin Mary and other saints, than to "Him whom the Father heareth always." The sacrifice of the mass was represented as procuring forgiveness of sins to the living and the dead, to the infinite disparagement of the sacrifice by which Jesus Christ expiated sin and procured everlasting redemption; and the consciences of men were withdrawn from faith in the merits of their Saviour, to a delusive reliance upon priestly absolutions, papal pardons, and voluntary penances. Instead of being instructed to demonstrate the sincerity of their faith and repentance, by forsaking their sins, and to testify their love to God and man, by observing the ordinances of worship authorised by scripture, and practising the duties of morality; they were taught, that, if they regularly said their *Aves* and *Credos*, confessed themselves to a priest, purchased a mass, went in pilgrimage to the shrine of some celebrated saint, or performed some prescribed act of bodily mortification—if they refrained from flesh on Fridays, and punctually paid their tithes and other church dues, their salvation was infallibly secured in due time: while those who were so rich and pious as to build a chapel or an altar, and to endow it for the support of a priest, to perform masses, obits, and diriges, procured a relaxation of the pains of purgatory for themselves or their relations, according to the extent of their mortifications. It is difficult for us to conceive how empty, ridiculous, and wretched those harangues were, which the monks delivered for sermons. Legendary tales concerning the founder of some religious order, his wonderful sanctity, the miracles which he performed, his combats with the devil, his watchings, fastings, flagellations; the vir-

tues of holy water, chrism, crossing, and exorcism; the horrors of purgatory, with the numbers released from it by the intercession of some powerful saint; these, with low jests, table-talk, and fireside scandal, formed the favourite topics of these preachers, and were served up to the people instead of the pure, solid, and sublime doctrines of the Bible.\*

The beds of the dying were besieged, and their last moments disturbed by avaricious priests, who laboured to extort bequests to themselves or to the church. Not satisfied with the exacting of tithes from the living, a demand was made upon the dead: no sooner had a poor husbandman breathed his last, than the rapacious vicar came and carried off his corps-present,† which he repeated as often as death visited the family. Ecclesiastical censures were fulminated against those who were reluctant in making these payments, or who shewed themselves disobedient to the clergy; and, for a little money they were prostituted on the most trifling occasions.‡ Divine service was neglected; the churches were deserted (especially after the light of the Reformation had discovered abuses, and pointed out a more excellent way); so that, except on a few festival days, the places of worship, in many parts of the country, served only as sanctuaries for malefactors, places of traffic, or resorts for pastime.||

Persecution, and the suppression of free inquiry, were the only weapons by which its interested supporters were able to defend this system of corruption and imposture. Every avenue by which truth might enter was carefully guarded. Learning was branded as the parent of heresy. The most frightful pic-

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 14-6. Spottiswood, 64, 69. Winget, apud Keith, *Append.* 205. Dalryell's *Cursory Remarks*, prefixed to *Scottish Poems of the 16th Century*, I. 16-18.

† See Note D.

‡ Knox, *Historie*, p. 14.

|| Dalryell's *Cursory Remarks*, ut supra, i. 28.

tures were drawn of those who had separated from the Romish church, and held up before the eyes of the people, to deter them from imitating their example. If any person attained a degree of illumination amidst the general darkness, began to hint dissatisfaction with the conduct of the clergy, and to propose the correction of abuses, he was immediately stigmatized as a heretic, and, if he did not secure his safety by flight, was immured in a dungeon, or committed to the flames. When at last, in spite of all their precautions, the light which was shining around did break in and spread through the nation, they prepared to adopt the most desperate and bloody measures for its suppression.

From this imperfect sketch of the state of religion in this country, we may see how false the representation is which some persons would impose on us ; as if popery were a system, erroneous indeed, but purely speculative ; superstitious, but harmless ; provided it had not been accidentally accompanied with intolerance and cruelty. The very reverse is the truth. It may be safely said, that there is not one of its erroneous tenets, or of its superstitious practices, which was not either originally contrived, or artfully accommodated, to advance and support some practical abuse ; to aggrandize the ecclesiastical order, secure to them immunity from civil jurisdiction, sanctify their encroachments upon secular authorities, vindicate their usurpations upon the consciences of men, cherish implicit obedience to the decisions of the church, and extinguish free inquiry and liberal science.

It was a system not more repugnant to the religion of the Bible, than incompatible with the legitimate rights of princes, the independence, liberty, and prosperity of kingdoms ; a system not more destructive to the souls of men, than to social and domestic



happiness, and the principles of sound morality. Considerations from every quarter combined in calling aloud for a radical and complete reform. The exertions of all descriptions of persons, of the man of letters, the patriot, the prince, as well as the Christian, each acting in his own sphere for his own interests, with a joint concurrence of all as in a common cause, were urgently required for the extirpation of abuses, of which all had reason to complain, and effectuating a revolution, in the advantages of which all would participate. There was, however, no reasonable prospect of accomplishing this, without exposing, in the first place, the falsehood of those notions which have been called speculative. It was principally by means of these that superstition had established its empire over the minds of men; behind them the Romish ecclesiastics had entrenched themselves, and defended their usurped prerogatives and possessions; and had any prince or legislature endeavoured to deprive them of these, while the body of the people remained unenlightened, they would soon have found reason to repent the hazardous attempt. To the revival of the primitive doctrines and institutions of Christianity, by the preaching and writings of the reformers, and to those controversies by which the popish errors were confuted from scripture, (for which many modern philosophers seem to have so thorough a contempt,) we are chiefly indebted for the overthrow of superstition, ignorance, and despotism; and for the blessings, political and religious, which we enjoy, all of which may be traced to the Reformation from popery.

How grateful should we be to divine Providence for this happy revolution! For, those persons do but “sport with their own imaginations,” who flatter themselves that it must have taken place in the ordinary course of human affairs, and overlook the

many convincing proofs of the superintending direction of superior wisdom, in the whole combination of circumstances which contributed to bring about the Reformation in this country, as well as throughout Europe. How much are we indebted to those men, who, under God, were the instruments in effecting it; who cheerfully jeopardized their lives, to achieve a design which involved the felicity of millions unborn; boldly attacked the system of error and corruption, fortified by popular credulity, custom, and laws, fenced with the most dreadful penalties; and having forced the strong hold of superstition, and penetrated the recesses of its temple, tore aside the veil which concealed that monstrous idol which the whole world had so long worshipped, and, dissolving the magic spell by which the human mind was bound, restored it to liberty! How criminal must those be, who, sitting at ease under their vines and fig-trees, planted by the unwearied labours, and watered by the blood of these patriots, discover their disesteem of the invaluable privileges which they inherit, or their ignorance of the expence at which they were purchased, by the most unworthy treatment of those to whom they owe them; misrepresent their actions, calumniate their motives, and cruelly lacerate their memories!

Patriots have toil'd, and in their country's cause  
Bled nobly; and their deeds, as they deserve,  
Receive proud recompence.—————

But fairer wreaths are due, tho' never paid,  
To those who, posted at the shrine of truth,  
Have fallen in her defence.—————

————— Their blood is shed,  
In confirmation of the noblest claim,  
Our claim to feed upon immortal truth,  
'To walk with God, to be divinely free,  
To soar, and to anticipate the skies.  
Yet few remember them.—————

— With their names  
 No bard embalms and sanctifies his song:  
 And history, so warm on meaner themes,  
 Is cold on this. She execrates indeed  
 The tyranny that doom'd them to the fire,  
 But gives the glorious sufferers little praise.

Cowper, Task, Book V.\*

The reformed doctrine had made considerable progress in Scotland, before it was embraced by Knox. PATRICK HAMILTON, a youth of noble descent,† obtained the honour, not conferred upon many of his rank, of first announcing its glad tidings to his countrymen, and sealing them with his blood. As early as the year 1526, previous to the breach of Henry VIII. with the Romish See, a gleam of light was, by some unknown means,‡ imparted to the mind of that noble youth, amidst the darkness which brooded around him. Guided by this, he directed his course to Wittemberg; and, after conferring with the Ger-

\* In the margin, Cowper names Hume as chargeable with the injustice which he so feelingly upbraids. While it is painful to think that other historians, since Hume, have exposed themselves to the same censure, it is pleasing to reflect, that Cowper is not the only poet who has "sanctified," and I trust, "embalmed his song" with the praises of these patriots.

† His father, Sir Patrick Hamilton of Kincauld, was a son of Lord Hamilton, who married a sister of King James III. His mother was a daughter of John, Duke of Albany, brother to the same monarch.—The author, some years ago, drew up a brief memoir of Patrick Hamilton, which was published in the Christian Magazine for January 1806; to which he begs leave to refer the reader, who, wishes more particular information respecting the Scottish proto-martyr. There are some interesting particulars respecting his trial, in Pitscottie's History; but that author is mistaken as to the year of his martyrdom, p. 133—135.

‡ There was an act of Parliament, as early as 17th July, 1525, prohibiting ships from bringing any books of Luther into Scotland, which had always "bene elene of all sic filth and vice." Robertson's Records of Parliament, p. 552. This renders it highly probable, that such books had already been introduced into this country.



man Reformer, went to prosecute the study of the scriptures in the protestant university of Marpurg, under the direction of Francis Lambert of Avignon. In that retreat, he was seized with such an irresistible desire to communicate to his countrymen the knowledge which he had received, that he left Marpurg, contrary to the remonstrances of his acquaintances, and returned to Scotland. His freedom in exposing the reigning corruptions, soon drew upon him the jealousy of the popish clergy, who decoyed him to St. Andrews; where, on the last day of February, 1528, he obtained the crown of martyrdom, by the hands of Archbishop Beatoun. The murder of Hamilton was afterwards avenged in the blood of the nephew and successor of his persecutor; and the flames in which he expired were, “in the course of one generation, to enlighten all Scotland; and to consume, with avenging fury, the catholic superstition, the papal power, and the prelacy itself.”\*

The cruel death of a person of rank, and the sufferings which he bore with the most undaunted fortitude and Christian patience, excited a general inquiry into his opinions among the learned, as well as the vulgar, in St. Andrews. Under the connivance of *John Winram*,† the Sub-prior, they secretly spread among the noviciates of the abbey. *Gawin Logie*, Rector of St. Leonard’s college, was so successful in instilling them into the minds of the students, that it became proverbial to say of any one suspected of Lutheranism, that “he had drunk of St. Leonard’s well.‡” The clergy, alarmed at the progress of the

\* Pinkerton.

† In 1546, Winram having spoken to the bishops in favour of George Wishart, Cardinal Beatoun upbraided him, saying, “Well, Sir, and you, we know what a man you are, seven years ago.” Pitseottie, 189.

‡ Cald. MS. i. 69.

new opinions, adopted the most rigorous measures for their extirpation. Strict inquisition was made after heretics; the flames of persecution were kindled in all quarters of the country; and, from 1530 to 1540, many innocent and excellent men suffered the most cruel death.\* Several purchased their lives by recantation. Numbers made their escape to England and the continent; among whom were the following learned men, Gawin Logie, Alexander Seaton, Alexander Aless, John M'Bee, John Fife, John Macdowal, John Mackbray, George Buchanan, James Harrison, and Robert Richardson.†

These violent proceedings could not arrest the progress of truth. By means of merchants, especially those of Dundee, Leith, and Montrose, who carried on trade with England and the continent, Tindall's Translations of the Scriptures, and many protestant books, were imported, and circulated through the nation.‡ Poetry lent her aid to the opposers of ignorance and superstition, and contributed greatly to the advancement of the Reformation, in this as well as other countries.§ Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, a favourite of James V. and an excellent poet, lashed the vices of the clergy, and exposed to ridicule many of the absurdities and superstitions of popery, in the most popular and poignant satires. His satirical play, which, though professing to correct the abuses of all estates, was principally levelled against those of the church, was repeatedly acted before the Royal Family, the court, and vast assemblies of people, to the great mortification, and still greater damage of the clergy; and copies of it were in the hands of ploughmen,

\* See Note E.

† See Note F.

‡ Wodrow MSS. Bibl. Coll. Glas. vol. 1, 2. Cald. MS. i. 85. Knox, Hist. 22.

§ Row, Historie, MS. p. 3, 4. Cald. MS. i. 105.

artizans, and children. The royal poet was followed by others who wrote in the same strain, but more avowedly asserting the protestant doctrines; and metrical epistles, moralities, and psalms, in the Scottish language, were every where disseminated and read with avidity, notwithstanding prohibitory statutes and prosecutions.\* In the year 1540, the reformed doctrine could number among its converts, besides a multitude of the common people, many persons of rank and external respectability; as William, Earl of Glencairn, Alexander, Lord Kilmaurs, William, Earl of Errol, William, Lord Ruthven, his daughter Lillias, married to the Master of Drummond, John Stewart, son of Lord Methven, Sir James Sandilands, with his whole family, Sir David Lindsay, Erskine of Dun, Melville of Raith, Balnaves of Halhill, the laird of Lauriston, with William Johnston, and Robert Alexander, Advocates.† These names deserve more consideration from the early period at which they were enrolled as friends of the reformed religion. It has often been alleged, that the desire of sharing in the rich spoils of the popish church together with the intrigues of the court of England, engaged the Scottish nobles on the side of the Reformation. It is reasonable to think, that, at a later period, this was in so far true. But at the time of which we now speak, the prospect of overturning the established church was too distant and uncertain, to induce persons, merely from cupidity, to take a step by which they exposed their lives and fortunes to the most imminent hazard; nor had the English monarch then extended his influence in Scotland, by the arts which he afterwards employed.

\* See Note G.

† Cald. MS. i. p. 103, 119. Sadler, i. 47. Knox, 21, 24.



From the year 1540, to the end of 1542, the numbers of the reformed rapidly increased. Twice did the clergy attempt to cut them off by one desperate blow. They presented to the King a list, containing the names of some hundreds, possessed of property and wealth, whom they denounced as heretics; and endeavoured to procure his consent to their condemnation, by flattering him with the immense riches which would accrue to him from their forfeiture. The first time the proposal was made, James rejected it, with strong marks of displeasure; but so violent was the antipathy which he at last conceived against his nobility, and so much had he fallen under the influence of the clergy, that it is highly probable he would have yielded to their solicitations, had not that disaster happened, which put an end to his unhappy life.\*

\* Sadler's State Papers, i. 94. Knox, 27. 28. Pitseottie, p. 164. Knox says, that the roll contained "mo than ane hundreth landit men, besides utheris of meener degre, amongis quhome was the Lord Hamiltoun, then second persoun of the realme." Sadler says, "eighteen score noblemen and gentlemen all well minded to God's word, which then they durst not avow:" among whom were the Earl of Arran, the Earl of Cassils, and the Earl Marishal. Pitseottie says, "seventeen score;" but he includes, in his account, not only "Earls, Lords, Barons, Gentlemen," but also "honest, burgesses and craftsmen."

## PERIOD II.

FROM HIS EMBRACING THE REFORMED RELIGION ANNO 1542, TO HIS RELEASE FROM THE FRENCH GALLEYS, ANNO 1549.

WHILE this fermentation of opinion was spreading through the nation, Knox, from the state in which his mind was, could not remain long unaffected. The reformed doctrines had been imbibed by several of his acquaintances, and they were the topic of common conversation and dispute among the learned and inquisitive at the university.\* His change of views first discovered itself in his philosophical lectures, in which he began to forsake the scholastic path, and to recommend to his pupils a more rational and useful method of study. Even this innovation excited against him violent suspicions of heresy, which were confirmed, when he proceeded to reprehend the corruptions which prevailed in the church. It was impossible for him, after this, to remain in safety at St. Andrews, which was wholly under the power of Cardinal Beatoun, the most determined supporter of the Romish church, and enemy

\* In the act of Parliament, Anno 1525, renewed 1535, prohibiting the importation of books, containing heretical opinions, or the rehearsing and disputing about them, an exception was made as to "clerks in the schools," that they might confute them. Robertson's Records of Parliament, p. 552. 595—6. In this device, the patrons of the Romish church were outwitted; for a number of these *clerks* were, by the perusal of the books, and by disputation, induced to embrace the protestant tenets.

of all reform. He left that place, and retired to the south, where, within a short time, he avowed his full belief of the protestant doctrine. Provoked by his defection, and alarmed lest he should draw others after him, the clergy were anxious to rid themselves of such an adversary. Having passed sentence against him as a heretic, and degraded him from the priesthood, (says Beza) the Cardinal employed assassins to way-lay him, by whose hands he must have fallen, had not providence placed him under the protection of the laird of Langniddrie.\*

*Thomas Guillaume*, or *Williams*,† was very useful to Knox, in leading him to a more perfect acquaintance with the truth. He was a friar of eminence, and, along with John Rough,‡ acted as chap-

\* Beza, in mentioning the sentence of condemnation and degradation here, may have confounded the transactions in the Cardinal's lifetime, with what happened Anno 1556. But there is no reason for questioning the main fact as related by him. The following are his words : " Siquidem Hieronymi et Augustini libros ibi nactus, ex eorum scriptis, non fastidire modo, sed etiam redarguere multa usque adeo libere cepit, Edinburgum præsertim regiam civitatem evocatus, Hamestonum, [what place is here meant ?] unicum tunc piorum asylum perfugere cogeretur. Ibi vero tandem liberrima edita confessione præmium illud a Davide Betonno Archiepiscopo Sanctandreano, et quidam Cardinali Scotiæ primate tulit, quale ab hoc hominum genere piis persolvi solet, hæreseos damnatus absens, sacerdote exutus, per insidias etiam, appositis percussoribus, trucidandus, nisi Dei providentia commendatum illum langudrio præcipuæ nobilitatis viro conservasset." *Ieones*, Ee. iij.

† He was born in Athelstoneford, a village of East Lothian. Calderwood says that he was provincial of the order of Dominicans, or Blackfriars, in Scotland. MS. vol. i. 118. But a late author informs us, that the chartulary of the Blackfriars monastery at Perth, mentions *John Grierson* as having been provincial from the year 1525, to the time of the Reformation. *Scott's History of the Reformers*, p. 96.

‡ He was born about Anno 1510; and, having been deprived of some property, to which he considered himself as entitled, he in



lain to the Earl of Arran, during the short time that he favoured the Reformation, at the beginning of his regency, by whom he was employed in preaching in different parts of the kingdom.\* But the person to whom our Reformer was most indebted, was *George Wishart*, a gentleman of the house of Pittarow, in Mearns. Being driven into banishment by Cardinal Beatoun, for teaching the Greek New Testament in Montrose, he had resided for some years at the university of Cambridge. In the year 1544, he returned to his native country, in the company of the commissioners, who had been sent to negotiate a treaty with Henry VIII. of England. Seldom do we meet, in ecclesiastical history, with a character so amiable and interesting, as that of George Wishart. Excelling the rest of his countrymen at that period in learning, of the most persuasive eloquence, irreproachable in life, courteous and affable in manners; his fervent piety, zeal, and courage in the cause of truth, were tempered with uncommon meekness, modesty, patience, prudence, and charity.† In his tour of

disgust left his relations, and entered a monastery in Stirling, when he was only seventeen years of age. The Governor procured a dispensation for him to leave the monastery, and become one of his chaplains. He visited Rome twice, and was very much shocked with what he witnessed in that city, which he had been taught to regard as the fountain of sanctity. Fox, 1840.

\* It was at this time, (19th March, 1543) that the important act was passed by the Scottish Parliament, declaring, "That it shall be lawful to all men to read the Bible and Testament in the mother-tongue;" an act which must have had great influence on the Reformation. Sadler's State Papers, i. 83. At this period, several treatises were printed in the Scottish language, in opposition to the church of Rome, besides those brought from England, Knox, 34.

† The following very interesting account of him is given by one of his scholars at Cambridge. "About the yeare of our Lord, a thousand, five hundreth, fortie and three, there was, in the univer-

preaching through Scotland, he was usually accompanied by some of the principal gentry; and the people, who flocked to hear him, were ravished with his discourses. To this teacher Knox attached himself, and profited greatly by his sermons, and private instructions. During his last visit to Lothian, he waited constantly on his person, and bore the sword, which was carried before him, from the time that an attempt was made to assassinate him at Dundee. Wishart was highly pleased with the zeal and talents of Knox, and seems to have presaged his future usefulness, at the same time that he laboured under a strong presentiment of his own approaching martyrdom. On the night in which he was apprehended by Bothwell, at the instigation of the Cardinal, he directed the sword to be taken from him, and while he insisted for liberty to accompany him to Ormiston,

sity of Cambridge, one Maister George Wischart, commonly called Maister George of Bennet's Colledge, was a tall man, polde headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best. Judged of melacholye complexion by his physiognomie, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learne, and was well travailed. Having on him for his habit or clothing never but a mantell frieze gowne to the shoes, a black Millian fustain dublet, and plain black hosen, course new canvasse for his shirtes, and white falling bandes and cuffes at the hands. All the which apparell he gave to the poore, some weekly, some monethly, some quarterly, as he liked: saving his Frenche cappe, which he kept the whole yeare of my being with him. He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousnesse: for his charitie had never ende, night, noone, nor daye. He forbare one meale, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. [When accused, at his trial, of contemning fasting, he replied, "My Lordis, I find that fasting is commendit in the scriptur.—And not so only; bot I have leiruit by experience, that fasting is gude for the healthe and conservatioun of the body." Knox, 60.] Hee lay hard upon a pouffe of straw, course new canvasse sheetes, which, when he changed, he gave

dismissed him with this reply, "Nay, returne to your bairnes, (meaning his pupils,) and God blis you; ane is sufficient for a sacrifice."

Having relinquished all thoughts of officiating in that church which had invested him with clerical orders, Knox had entered as tutor into the family of Hugh Douglas of Long Niddrie, a gentleman in East Lothian, who had embraced the reformed doctrines. John Cockburn of Ormiston, a neighbouring gentleman of the same persuasion, also put his son under his tuition. These young men were instructed by him in the principles of religion, as well as of the learned languages. He managed their religious instruction in such a way as to allow the rest of the family, and the people of the neighbourhood, to reap advantage from it. He catechised them publicly in a chapel at Long Niddrie, in which he also read to them at stated times, a chapter of the Bible, accompanied with explanatory remarks. The memory of

away. He had commonly by his bedside a tubbe of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) hee used to bathe himself.—He taught with great modestie and gravitie, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him; but the Lord was his defence. And hee, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them. and he went his way. O that the Lord had left him to me his poore boy, that he might have finished that he had begunne! His learning no less sufficient than his desire, alwayes prest and readie to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publikely, professing and reading diverse authors." Letter of Emery Tylney, apud Fox, 1155.

Wishart travelled on the continent, but whether previous to his banishment, anno 1538, or after it, does not appear: Knox, 56. Buchanan calls him *Sophocardius*, supposing his name to be Wiseheart, a mistake which has been corrected by an intelligent foreign historian, who says that the original name was *Guiscard*, a name common in France, from which country the *Wischards* (for so Knox writes it) originally came to Scotland. Gerdesii Hist. Reformat. tom. iv. p. 314.



this has been preserved by tradition, and the chapel, the ruins of which are still apparent, is popularly called *John Knox's kirk*.\*

It was not to be expected, that he would long be suffered to continue this employment, under a government which was now entirely at the devotion of Cardinal Beatoun, who had gained over to his measures the timid and irresolute regent. But in the midst of his cruelties, and while he was planning still more desperate deeds,† the Cardinal was himself suddenly cut off. A conspiracy was formed against his life; and a small, but determined band, (some of whom seem to have been instigated by resentment for private injuries, and the influence of the English court, others animated by a desire to revenge his cruelties, and deliver their country from his oppression,) on the 29th of May, 1546, seized upon the Castle of St. Andrews, in which he resided, and put him to death.

The death of Beatoun did not, however, free Knox from persecution. John Hamilton, an illegitimate brother of the Regent, who was nominated to the vacant bishopric, sought his life with as great eagerness as his predecessor. He was obliged to conceal himself, and to remove from place to place, to provide for his safety. Wearied with this mode of living, and apprehensive that he would some day fall into the hands of his enemies, he came to the

\* Chalmers's *Caledonia*, ii. 526. comp. Knox, *Historie*, 67.

† In his progress through the kingdom with the Governor, he instigated him, "to hang (at Perth) four honest men, for eating of a goose on Friday; and drowned a young woman, because she refused to pray to our lady in her birth." Pitseottie, 188. Knox says, that the woman "having a soueking babe upon hir briest, was drounit." *Historie*, 40. Petrie's *History of the Church of Scotland*, part ii. p. 182. He had planned the destruction of the principal gentleman of Fife, as appeared by documents found after his death, Knox, 63, 64.

resolution of leaving Scotland. He had no desire to go to England, because, although "the Pope's name was suppressed" in that kingdom, "his laws and corruptions remained in full vigour."\* His determination was to visit Germany, and prosecute his studies in some of the Protestant universities, until he should see a favourable change in the state of his native country. The lairds of Long Niddrie and Ormiston were extremely reluctant to part with him, and, by their importunities, prevailed with him to take refuge, along with their sons, in the Castle of St. Andrews, which continued to be held by the conspirators.†

Writers unfriendly to our Reformer have endeavoured to fix an accusation upon him, respecting the assassination of Cardinal Beaton. Some have ignorantly asserted, that he was one of the conspirators.

\* All the Scottish Protestants were displeased with the half-reform introduced by Henry VIII. This circumstance contributed not a little to cool their zeal for the alliance with England. His ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler, found himself in a very awkward predicament on this as well as on other accounts; for the papists were displeased that Henry had gone so far, the protestants that he did not go farther. The latter disrelished, in particular, the restrictions which he had imposed upon the reading and interpretation of the scriptures, and which he urged the Regent to imitate in Scotland. They had no desire for the *King's Book*, which lay as a drug in the ambassador's hands. Sadler's State Papers, i. 264—5. comp. p. 123. Sir John Borthwick, (who fled to England, Anno 1539 or 1540,) ridicules the Scottish clergy for making it an article of accusation against him, that he had approved of "all those heresies, commonly called the heresies of England;" because, (says he,) "what religion at that time was used in England, the like the whole realm of Scotland did embrace; in this point only, the Englishmen differed from the Scottes, that they had cast off the yoke of Antichrist, the other not. Idols were worshipped of both nations; the prophanating of the supper and baptisme was like unto them both.—Truely, it is most false, that I had subscribed unto such kinde of heresies." Fox, 1149, 1150.

† Knox, Historie, p. 67.

Others, better informed, have argued that he made himself accessory to their crime, by taking shelter among them.\* With more plausibility, others have appealed to his writings, as a proof that he vindicated the deed of the conspirators as laudable, or at least innocent. I know that some of Knox's vindicators have denied this charge, and maintain that he justified it only in as far as it was the work of God, or a just retribution in Providence for the crimes of which the Cardinal had been guilty, without approving the conduct of those who were the instruments of punishing him.† The just judgment of heaven is, I acknowledge, the chief thing to which he directs the attention of his reader; at the same time, I think no one who carefully reads what he has written on this subject,‡ can doubt that he justified the action of the conspirators. The truth is, he held the opinion, that persons who, by the commission of flagrant crimes, had forfeited their lives, according to the law of God, and the just laws of society, such as notorious murderers and tyrants, might warrantably be put to death by private individuals; provided all redress, in the ordinary course of justice, was rendered impossible, in consequence of the offenders having usurped the executive authority, or being systematically protected by oppressive

\* "*Quorum se societate, non multo post, implicarat Joannes Knoxus, Calvinistarum minister, qui se evangelicæ perfectionis cumulum assecutum non arbitrabatur nisi in Cardinalis ac sacerdotis sanguine ac cæde triumphasset.*" Leslæus de rebus gestis Scotorum. lib. x. The bishop should have recollected, that the violence of his friends drove "the Calvinistic minister" to this "pinnacle of evangelical perfection."

† Principal Baillie's *Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland*, p. 42.

‡ *Historie*, 86.



rulers. This was an opinion of the same kind with that of *tyrannocide*, held by so many of the ancients, and defended by Buchanan in his dialogue, *De jure regni apud Scotos*. It is a principle, I confess, of dangerous application, extremely liable to be abused by factious, fanatical, and desperate men, as a pretext for perpetrating the most nefarious deeds. It would be unjust, however, on this account, to confound it with the principle, which, by giving to individuals a liberty to revenge their own quarrels, legitimates assassination, a practice which was exceedingly common in that age. I may add, that there have been instances of persons, not invested with public authority, executing punishment upon flagitious offenders, as to which we may scruple to load the memory of the actors with an aggravated charge of murder, although we cannot approve of their conduct.\*

Knox entered the Castle of St. Andrews, at the time of Easter, 1547, and conducted the education

\* It is surprising how much prejudice will blind and distort the judgment, even of men of learning. A modern author, speaking of the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, calls it "the foulest crime which ever stained a country, except perhaps the similar murder of Archbishop Sharpe, within the same shire, in the subsequent century, by similar *miscreants*." Chalmers's Lindsay, vol. i. p. 34, 35. What must the reader think who hears the assassination of two *bloody persecutors*, aggravated above the murder of the brave *Coligni*, the generous *Henry IV.* of France, and the patriotic *Prince of Orange*! There are some authors who can narrate in cold blood the murder of multitudes of innocent persons, under the consecrated cloak of authority, who "burst into indignation," at the mention of the rare fact of a person, who goaded by oppression, and reduced to despair, has been driven to the extremity of taking vengeance on the proud and tyrannical author of his wrongs.

Mr. Hume's remark on Knox's Narrative of the Cardinal's assassination, is considered in Note H.

of his pupils after his accustomed manner. In the chapel within the Castle, he read to them his lectures upon the scriptures, beginning at the place in the gospel according to John, where he had left off at Long Niddrie. He catechised them in the parish church belonging to the city. A number of persons attended both these exercises. Among those who had taken refuge in the Castle, (though not engaged in the conspiracy against the Cardinal,) were John Rough, who, since his dismissal by the Regent had lurked in Kyle, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, and Henry Balnaves of Halhill.\* These persons were so much pleased with Knox's doctrine and mode of teaching, that they urged him to preach publicly to the people, and to become colleague to Rough, who acted as chaplain to the garrison. But he resisted all their solicitations, assigning as a reason that he did not consider himself as having a call to this employment, and would not be guilty of intrusion.† They did not, however, desist from their purpose; but, having consulted with their brethren, came to

\* Henry Balnaves had raised himself, by his talents and probity, from an obscure station to the first honours of the state, and was justly regarded as one of the principal supporters of the reformed cause in Scotland. Born of poor parents in the town of Kircaldy, when yet a boy he travelled to the continent, and hearing of a free school in Cologne, procured admission to it, and received a liberal education together with instruction in Protestant principles. Returning to his native country, he applied himself to the study of law, and acted for some time as a procurator at St. Andrews. Notwithstanding the jealousy of the clergy, who hated him on account of his religious sentiments, his reputation introduced him to the court; and he was employed on important embassies, both by James V. and the Earl of Arran, during the first part of whose regency he was Secretary of State. Cald. MS. i. 119. Sadler's State Papers, i. 83. Knox, 35.

† His words were, that he *wald not rin quhair God had not callit him.*

a resolution without his knowledge, that a call should be publicly given him, in the name of the whole, to become one of their ministers.

Accordingly, on a day fixed for the purpose, Rough preached a sermon on the election of ministers, in which he declared the power which a congregation, however small, had over any one in whom they perceived gifts suited to the office, and how dangerous it was for such a person to reject the call of those who desired instruction. Sermon being ended, the preacher turned to Knox, who was present, and addressed him in these words: "Brother, you shall not be offended, although I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this: In the name of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of all that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation, but as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom you understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that you take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces unto you." Then addressing himself to the congregation, he said, "Was not this your charge unto me? and do ye not approve this vocation?" They all answered, "It was; and we approve it." Abashed and overwhelmed by this unexpected and solemn charge, Knox was unable to speak, but bursting into tears, retired from the assembly, and shut himself up in his chamber. "His countenance and behaviour from that day. till the day that he was compelled to present himself in the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and



trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth from him, neither had he pleasure to accompany any man for many days together.\*”

This scene cannot fail to interest such as are impressed with the weight of the ministerial function, and will awaken a train of feelings in the breasts of those who have been intrusted with the gospel. It revives the memory of those early days of the church, when persons did not rush forward to the altar, nor beg to “be put into one of the priests’ offices, to eat a piece of bread;” when men of piety and talents, deeply impressed with the awful responsibility of the office, and their own insufficiency, were, with great difficulty, induced to take on them those orders, which they had long desired, and for which they had laboured to qualify themselves. What a glaring contrast to this was exhibited in the conduct of the herd, which at this time filled the stalls of the popish church! The behaviour of Knox also reproves those who become preachers of their own accord; who, from vague and enthusiastic desires of doing good, or a fond conceit of their own gifts, trample upon good order, and thrust themselves into a sacred public employment, without any regular call.

We are not, however, to imagine that his distress of mind, and the reluctance which he discovered in complying with the call which he had now received, proceeded from consciousness of its invalidity, by the defect of certain external formalities which had been usual in the church, or which, in ordinary cases, might be observed with propriety, in the installation of persons into sacred offices. These as far as warranted by scripture, or conducive to the preservation of decent order, he did not condemn: his judgment respecting them may be learned from the early practice of the Scottish reformed church, in

\* Knox Historie, p. 68.

the organization of which he had so active a share. In common with all the original reformers, he rejected the necessity of episcopal ordination, as totally unauthorised by the laws of Christ; nor did he regard the imposition of the hands of presbyters as a rite essential to the validity of orders, or of necessary observance in all circumstances of the church. The papists, indeed, did not fail to declaim on this topic, representing Knox,\* and other reformed ministers, as destitute of all lawful vocation. In the same strain did many hierarchical writers of the English church afterwards learn to talk, not scrupling, by their extravagant doctrine, of the absolute necessity of ordination by the hands of a bishop, who derived his powers by uninterrupted succession from the apostles, to invalidate and nullify the orders of all the reformed churches, except their own; a doctrine which has been revived in the present enlightened age, and unblushingly avowed and defended, with the greater part of its absurd, illiberal, and horrid consequences.† I will not say that Knox paid

\* The objection of the Roman Catholics to the legality of our Reformer's vocation was, that although he had received the power of *order*, he wanted that of *jurisdiction*; these two being distinct, according to the canon law. "The power of ordere is not sufficient to ane man to preache, bot he man have also jurisdictione over thame to whom he preaches. *Johann Kmnox* resavit never sic jurisdictione fra the Roman kirk to preache in the realme of Scotland; thairfoir suppose he receavit from it the ordere of priestheade, yet he had na pouar to preache, nor to lauchfullie administrat the Sacramentes." Nicol Burne's Disputation concerning the Controversit Headdis of Religion, p. 128. Paris, Anno 1581.

† The fathers of the English Reformation were very far from entertaining such ridiculous and illiberal sentiments. Knox's call to the ministry was never questioned, but his services readily accepted, when he afterwards went to England. Archbishop Cranmer, in the reign of Edward VI. and all the bishops in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, corresponded with, and cheerfully

no respect whatever to his early ordination in the popish church, (although, if we credit the testimony of his adversaries, this was his opinion;\*) but I have little doubt that he looked upon the charge which he received at St. Andrews as principally constituting his call to the ministry.

His distress of mind on the present occasion proceeded from a higher source than the deficiency of some external formalities in his call. He had now very different thoughts as to the importance of the ministerial office, from what he had entertained when ceremoniously invested with orders. The care of immortal souls, of whom he must give an account to the Chief Bishop; the charge of declaring “the whole counsel of God, keeping nothing back,” however ungrateful to his hearers, and of “preaching in season and out of season;” the manner of life, afflictions, persecutions,

owned the foreign reformed divines as brethren, and fellow-labourers in the ministry of the gospel. In the year, 1582, Archbishop Grindal, by a formal deed, declared the validity of the orders of Mr. John Morrison, who had been ordained by the Synod of Lothian, “according to the *laudable* form and rite of the reformed Church of Scotland,” (says the instrument,) *per generalem Synodum sive Congregationem illius comitatus juxta laudabilem Ecclesiæ Scotiæ reformatæ formam et ritum ad sacros ordines et sacrosanctum ministerium per manuum impositionem admissus et ordinatus.*—Nos igitur formam ordinationis et præfectionis tuæ hujusmodi, modo præmisso factum, quantum in nos est, et jure possumus, approbantes et ratificantes, &c. Strype’s Life of Grindal. Append. book ii. Numb. xvii. p. 101. Whittingham, Dean of Durham, was ordained in the English church at Geneva, of which Knox was pastor; and Travers, the opponent of Hooker, was ordained by a presbytery at Antwerp. Attempts were made by some highflyers to invalidate their orders, and induce them to submit to re-ordination, but they did not succeed. Strype’s Annals, vol. ii. 520—4.

\* Ninian Winzet, apud Keith’s History, App. p. 212, 213. Burne’s Disputation, p. 128.



imprisonment, exile, and violent death, to which the preachers of the protestant doctrine were exposed; the hazard of his sinking under these hardships, and “making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience;” these, with similar considerations, rushed into his mind, and filled it with agitation and grief. At length, satisfied that he had the call of God to engage in this work, he composed his mind to a reliance on Him who had engaged to make his “strength perfect in the weakness” of his servants, and resolved, with the apostle, “not to count his life dear, that he might finish with joy the ministry which he received of the Lord, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.” Often did he afterwards reflect with lively emotion upon this very interesting step of his life, and never, in the midst of his greatest sufferings, did he see reason to repent the choice which he had so deliberately made.

An occurrence which took place about this time contributed to fix his wavering resolution, and induced an earlier compliance with the call of the congregation than he might otherwise have been disposed to yield. Though sound in doctrine, Rough’s literary acquirements were moderate. Of this circumstance, the patrons of the established religion in the university and abbey took advantage; among others, one called Dean John Annan,\* had long proved vexatious to him, by stating objections to the doctrine which he preached, and entangling him

\* The friars were accustomed about this time to assume the dignified title of *Dean*, although they did not hold that place in the church which entitled them to the name.

“All monk’ry, ye may hear and sie,  
Are callit Denis for dignite;  
Howbeit his mother milk the kow,  
He mon be callit Dene Andrew.

Chalmers’s Lindsay, iii. 403.

with sophisms, or garbled quotations from the fathers. Knox had assisted the preacher with his pen, and by his superior skill in logic and the writings of the fathers, exposed Annan's fallacies, and confuted the popish errors. One day, at a public disputation in the parish church, in the presence of a great number of people, Annan being beat from all his defences, fled, as his last refuge, to the infallible authority of the church, by which the tenets of the Lutherans being condemned as heretical, all further disputation, he alleged, was unnecessary. To this Knox's reply was, that before they could submit to this summary determination of the matters of controversy, it was previously requisite to ascertain the true church by the marks given in scripture, lest they should blindly receive, as their spiritual mother, a harlot instead of the immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ. "For, (continued he,) as for your Roman church as it is now corrupted, wherein stands the hope of your victory, I no more doubt that it is the synagogue of Satan, and the head thereof, called the Pope, to be that MAN OF SIN, of whom the apostle speaks, than I doubt that Jesus Christ suffered by the procurement of the visible church of Jerusalem. Yea, I offer myself, by word or writing, to prove the Roman church this day farther degenerate from the purity which was in the days of the apostles, than were the church of the Jews from the ordinances given by Moses, when they consented to the innocent death of Jesus Christ." This was a bold charge; but the minds of the people were prepared to listen to the proof. They exclaimed, that if this was true, they had been miserably deceived, and insisted, as they could not all read his writings, that he should ascend the pulpit, and give them an

opportunity of hearing the probation of what he had so confidently affirmed. The challenge was not to be retracted, and the request was reasonable. The following Sunday was fixed for making good his promise.

On the day appointed, he appeared in the pulpit of the parish church, and gave out Daniel vii. 24, 25. as his text. After an introduction, in which he explained the vision, and shewed that the four empires, emblematically represented by four different animals, were the Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, and Roman, out of the ruins of the last of which empires, the power described in his text arose, he proceeded to show that this was applicable to no other power but that of the degenerate Romish church. He compared the parallel passages in the New Testament, and shewed that the king mentioned in his text was the same elsewhere called the man of Sin, the Antichrist, the Babylonian harlot; and that this did not mean any single person, but a body or multitude of people under a wicked head, including a succession of persons, occupying the same station. In support of his assertion that the papal power was antichristian, he described it under the three heads of life, doctrine, and laws. He depicted the lives of the popes from ecclesiastical history, contrasted their doctrine with that of the New Testament, particularly in the article of justification, and their laws enjoining holidays, abstinence from meats, from marriage, &c. with the laws of Christ. He quoted from the canon law the blasphemous titles and prerogatives ascribed to the Pope, as an additional proof that he was described in his text.\* In conclusion, he signified, that if any present thought

\* The doctrine which the preacher delivered at this time was afterwards put into "ornate meter," by one of his hearers, Sir D. Lindsay, who, in his "Monarchie," finished Anno 1553, has given a particular account of the rise and corruptions of popery.



that he had misquoted, or misinterpreted the testimonies which he had produced from the scriptures, history, or writings of the doctors of the church, he was ready upon there coming to him, in the presence of witnesses, to give them satisfaction. There were among the audience, his former preceptor, Major, the members of the university, the Sub-prior of the abbey, and a great number of canons and friars of different orders.

This sermon, delivered with a great portion of that popular eloquence for which Knox was afterwards so celebrated, made great noise, and excited much speculation among all classes.\* The former reformed preachers, not excepting Wishart, had contented themselves with refusing some of the grosser errors of the established religion. Knox struck at the root of popery, by boldly pronouncing the Pope to be Antichrist, and the whole system erroneous and antisciptural. The report of the sermon, and the effects produced by it, was soon conveyed to the elect bishop of St. Andrews, who wrote to Winram, the Sub-prior and Vicar-general during the vacancy of the See, that he was surprised he would allow

under the name of the "fifth spiritual and papal monarchie." Chalmers's *Lindsay*, iii. 86—116.

\* "Sum said, Utheris hued the branches of papistry, bot he straiketh at the rute, to destroye the whole. Utheris said, gif the doctors and magistri nostri defend not now the Pope and his authoritie, which in their owin presence is so manifestlie impugnit, the devill have my part of him and his lawes bothe. Utheris said, Mr. George Wischeart spak never so plainelie, and yet he was brunt; even so will he be in the end; Utheris said, the tyrannie of the Cardinal maid not his cause the better, nether yet the suffering of Godis servand maid his cause the wors—And thairfoir we wald counsail yow and thame to provyde better defences than fyre and sword; for it may be that allis ye shall be diappointed: men now have uther eyes than they had then. This answer gave the laird of Nydrie." Knox, *Historie*, p. 70.

such heretical and schismatical doctrine to be taught without opposition. Winram was at bottom friendly to the reformed tenets; but he durst not altogether disregard this admonition, and therefore appointed a convention of the most learned men to be held in St. Leonard's Yards, to which he summoned the preachers. Nine articles drawn from their sermons were exhibited, "the strangeness of which (the Sub-prior said) had moved him to call for them to hear their answers."

Knox, when called, expressed his satisfaction at appearing before an auditory so honourable, and apparently so modest and grave. As he was not a stranger to the report concerning the private sentiments of Winram, and nothing was more abhorrent to his mind than dissimulation, he, before commencing his defence, protested him to deal uprightly in a matter of such magnitude; if he advanced any thing which was contrary to scripture, he desired the Sub-prior to oppose it, that the people might not be deceived, but if he was convinced that what he taught was true and scriptural, it was his duty to give it the sanction of his authority. To this Winram cautiously replied, that he did not come there as a judge, and would neither approve nor condemn; he wished a free conference, and, if Knox pleased, he would reason with him a little. Accordingly, he proceeded to state some objections to one of the propositions maintained by Knox, "that in the worship of God, and especially in the administration of the sacraments, the rule prescribed in the scriptures is to be observed without addition or diminution; and that the church has no right to devise religious ceremonies, and impose significations upon them." After maintaining the argument for a short time, the Sub-prior devolved it on a grey-friar, named Arbugkill, who took it up with

great confidence, but was soon forced to yield with disgrace. He rashly engaged to prove the divine institution of ceremonies ; and being pushed by his antagonist from the gospels and acts to the epistles, and from one epistle to another, he was driven at last to affirm, “ that the apostles had not received the Holy Ghost when they wrote the epistles, but they afterwards received him and ordained ceremonies. “ Father ! (exclaimed the Sub-prior) what say ye ? God forbid that ye say that : for then farewell the ground of our faith ! ” The friar, abashed and confounded, attempted to correct his error, but in vain. Knox could not afterwards bring him to the argument upon any of the articles. He resolved all into the authority of the church. His opponent urging that the church had no power, to act contrary to the express directions of scripture, which enjoined an exact conformity to the divine laws respecting worship ; “ if so (said Arbugkill,) you will leave us no church ” “ Yes, (rejoined Knox, sarcastically, in David I read of the church of malignants, *Odi ecclesiam malignantium* ; this church you may have without the word, and fighting against it. Of this church if you will be, I cannot hinder you ; but as for me, I will be of no other church but that which has Jesus Christ for pastor, hears his voice, and will not hear the voice of a stranger.” For purgatory, the friars had no better authority than that of Virgil in the sixth *Æneid* ; and the pains of it according to him were—*a bad wife*.\*

“ Solventur risu tabulæ : tu missus abibis.”

Instructed by the issue of this convention, the papists avoided for the future all disputation, which tended only to injure their cause. Had the Castle of St.

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 70—74.



Andrews been in their power, they would soon have silenced these troublesome preachers ; but as matters stood, more moderate and crafty measures were necessary. The plan adopted for counteracting the popular preaching of Knox and Rough was politic. Orders were issued, that all the learned men in the abbey and university should preach by turns every Sunday in the parish church. By this means the reformed preachers were excluded on those days, when the greatest audiences attended ; and it was expected that the diligence of the established clergy would conciliate the affections of the people. To avoid offence or occasion of speculation, they were directed not to touch in their sermons upon any of the controverted points. Knox easily saw through this artifice, but contented himself, in the sermons which he still delivered on week days, with expressing a wish that they would shew themselves equally diligent in places where their labours were more necessary. At the same time, he rejoiced (he said) that Christ was preached, and nothing publicly spoken against the truth ; if any thing of this kind should be advanced, he requested the people to suspend their judgment, until they should have an opportunity of hearing him.

His labours were so successful during the few months that he preached at St. Andrews, that, besides those in the Castle, a great number of the inhabitants of the town renounced popery, and made profession of the protestant faith, by participating of the Lord's Supper, which he administered to them in the manner afterwards practised in the reformed church of Scotland.\* The gratification

\* This was the first time that the Sacrament of the Supper was dispensed in the reformed way in Scotland, unless we except the instance by George Wishart, in the same castle, immediately before

which he felt in these first fruits of his ministry, was in some degree abated by instances of vicious conduct in those under his charge, some of whom were guilty of those acts of licentiousness too common among soldiery placed in similar circumstances. From the time that he was chosen to be their preacher, he openly rebuked these disorders, and when he perceived that his admonitions failed in putting a stop to them, he did not conceal his apprehensions of the issue of the enterprise in which they were engaged.\*

In the end of June 1547, a French fleet, with a considerable body of land forces, under the command of Leo Strozzi, appeared before St. Andrews, to assist the Governor in the reduction of the Castle. It was invested both by sea and land; and being disappointed of the expected aid from England, the besieged, after a brave and vigorous resistance, were under the necessity of capitulating to the French commander on the last day of July. The terms of the capitulation were honourable; the lives of all that were in the Castle were to be spared, they were to be transported to France, and if they did not choose to enter into the service of the French king, were to be conveyed to any country which they might prefer, except Scotland. John Rough had left the Castle previous to the commencement of the siege, and retired to England.† Knox, although he did

his death; which was in a private manner, as narrated by Buchanan, *Hist. lib. xv. Oper. Rudd. tom. i. 293—4.* Those who preceded Knox appear to have contented themselves with preaching; and such as embraced their doctrine had most probably continued to receive the sacraments from the popish clergy, or at least from such of them as were most friendly to a reformation.

\* Buchanan, *Hist. lib. xv. p. 296. ut supra.*

† Rough continued to preach in England until the death of Edward VI. when he retired to Norden in Friesland. There he was obliged to support himself and his wife (whom he had married in (England) by knitting caps, stockings, &c. Having come over to

not expect that the garrison would be able to hold out, could not prevail upon himself to desert his charge, and resolved to share with his brethren the hazard of the siege. He was conveyed along with the rest on board the fleet, which, in a few days, set sail for France, arrived at Fecamp, and, going up the Seine, anchored before Rouen. The capitulation was violated, and they were all detained prisoners of war, at the solicitation of the Pope and Scottish clergy. The principal gentlemen were incarcerated in Rouen, Cherburg, Brest, and Mont St. Michel. Knox, with some others, was confined on board the galleys, bound with chains, and treated with all the indignities offered to heretics, in addition to the rigours of ordinary captivity.\*

From Rouen they sailed to Nantes, and lay upon the Loire during the following winter. Solicitations, threatenings, and violence, were all employed to make the prisoners recant their religion, and countenance the popish worship. But so grrat was their abhorrence of its idolatry, that not a single individual of the whole company, on land or water, could be induced to symbolise in the smallest degree. While the prison-ships lay on the Loire, mass was frequently said, and *Salve Regina* sung on board, or on the shore within their hearing: on these occa-

London in the course of his trade, he heard of a congregation of protestants which met secretly in that city; to whom he joined himself, and was elected their pastor. A few weeks after this, the conventicle was discovered by the treachery of one of their own number, and Rough was carried before Bishop Bonner, by whose orders he was committed to the flames on the 22d of December 1557. An account of his examination, and two of his letters, breathing the true spirit of a Christian martyr, may be seen in Fox, p. 1840—1842.

\* Archibald Hamilton says that he was condemned to work at the oar;—"impellendis longarum navium remis, cum reliquis adjudicatur." Dial. de Confus. Calv. Sectæ. p. 64.



sions they were brought out and threatened with torture, if they did not give the usual signs of reverence; but instead of complying, they covered their heads as soon as the service began. Knox has related a humourous incident which took place on one of these occasions, and although he has not named the person concerned in it, most probably it was himself. One day a fine painted image of the Virgin was brought into one of the galleys, and presented to a Scots prisoner to kiss. He desired the bearer not to trouble him, for such idols were accursed, and he would not touch it. The officers roughly replied, that he should; put it to his face, and thrust it into his hands. Upon this he took hold of the image, and watching his opportunity, threw it into the river, saying, *Lat our Ladie now save herself: sche is lycht anoughe, lat hir leirne to swyme.* After this they were no more troubled in that way.\*

The galleys returned to Scotland in summer 1548, as near as I can collect, and continued for a considerable time on the east coast, to watch for English vessels. Knox's health was now greatly impaired by the severity of his confinement, and he was seized with a fever, during which his life was despaired of by all in the ship.† But even in this state, his fortitude of mind remained unsubdued,‡ and he comforted his fellow-prisoners with hopes of release. To their anxious desponding inquiries (natural to men in their situation), "if he thought they would ever obtain their liberty," his uniform answer was,

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 83.

† MS. *Letters*, p. 53.

‡ One of his most bitter adversaries has borne an involuntary and undesigned testimony to his magnanimity at this time. "*Ubi longo maris tædio, et laboris molestia extenuatum quidem, et subactum corpus fuit; sed animi elatio eum subinde rerum magnorum spe extimulans, nihilo magis tunc quam prius quiescere potuit.*" *Hamiltonii Dialogus*, ut supra.

“God will deliver us to his glory, even in this life.” While they lay on the coast between Dundee and St. Andrews, Mr. (afterwards Sir) James Balfour, who was confined in the same ship, desired him to look to the land, and see if he knew it. Though at that time very sick, he replied, “Yes, I know it well; for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory; and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life, till that my tongue shall glorify his godly name in the same place.” This striking reply Sir James repeated, in the presence of many witnesses, a number of years before Knox returned to Scotland, and when there was very little prospect of his words being verified.\*

We must not, however, think that he possessed this elevation and tranquillity of mind, during the whole time of his imprisonment. When first thrown into cruel bonds, insulted by his enemies, and without any apparent prospect of release, he was not a stranger to the anguish of despondency, so pathetically described by the Royal Psalmist of Israel.† He felt that conflict in his spirit, with which all good men are acquainted; and which becomes peculiarly sharp when joined with corporal affliction. But, having had recourse to prayer, the never-failing refuge of the oppressed, he was relieved from all his fears, and, reposing upon the promise and providence of the God whom he served, attained to “the confidence and rejoicing of hope.” Those who wish a more particular account of the state of his mind at this time, will find it in the notes, extracted from a rare work on prayer, composed by him chiefly from his own experience.‡

When free from fever, he relieved the tedium of

\* Historie, p. 74.

† Psalm xlii.

‡ See Note I.

captivity, by committing to writing a Confession of his Faith, containing the substance of what he had taught at St. Andrews, with a particular account of the disputation which he maintained in St. Leonard's Yards. This he found means to convey to his religious acquaintances in Scotland, accompanied with an earnest exhortation to preserve in the faith which they had professed, whatever persecutions they might suffer for its sake.\* To this confession I find him afterwards referring, in the defence of his doctrine before the bishop of Durham. "Let no man think, that because I am in the realm of England, therefore so boldly I speak. No: God hath taken that suspicion from me. For the body lying in most painful bands, in the midst of cruel tyrants, his mercy and goodness provided that the hand should write and bear witness to the confession of the heart, more abundantly than ever yet the tongue spake."†

Notwithstanding the rigour of their confinement, the prisoners who were separated found opportunities of occasionally corresponding with one another. Henry Balnaves of Halhill composed in his prison a treatise on *Justification*, and the *Works and Conversation of a justified man*. This being conveyed to Knox, probably after his second return in the galleys from Scotland, he was so much pleased with it, that he divided it into chapters, added some marginal notes, and a concise epitome of its contents; to the whole he prefixed a recommendatory dedication, intending that it should be published for the use of their brethren in Scotland, as soon as an opportunity offered.‡ The reader will not, I am persuaded,

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 74. This confession appears to have been lost.

† MS. Letters, p. 40.

‡ The manuscript, there is reason to think, was conveyed to Scotland about this time, but it fell aside, and was long consider-



be displeased to breath a little the spirit which animated this undaunted confessor, when "his feet lay fast in irons," as expressed by him in this dedication; from which I shall quote more freely, as the book is rare.

It is thus inscribed:\* "John Knox, the bound servant of Jesus Christ, unto his best beloved brethren of the congregation of the castle of St. Andrews, and to all professors of Christ's true evangel, desir-eth grace, mercy and peace, from God the Father, with perpetual consolation of the Holy Spirit." After mentioning a number of instances in which the name of God was magnified, and the interests of religion advanced, by the exile of those who were driven from their native countries by tyranny, as in the examples of Joseph, Moses, Daniel, and the primitive Christians; he goes on thus: "Which thing shall openly declare this godly work subsequent. The council of Satan in the

ed as lost. After Knox's death, it was discovered by his servant, Richard Bannatyne, in the house of Ormiston, and was printed, Anno 1584, by Thomas Vaultroulier, in 4mo. with the title of "Confession of Faith, &c. by Henry Balnaves of Halhill, one of the Lords of Council and Session of Scotland."—David Buchanan, in his edition of Knox's history, Anno 1644, among his other alterations and interpolations, makes Knox to say that this work was published at the time he wrote the history; which may be numbered among the anachronisms in that edition, which, for some time, discredited the authenticity of the history, and led many to deny that Knox was its author. But in the genuine editions, Knox expresses the very reverse. "In the presoun, he (Balnaves) wrait a maist profitabill treatise of justification, and of the warkis and conversatioun of a justified man: *but how it was suppressit we know not.*" *Historie*, p. 83. Edin. Anno 1732. See also p. 181. of the first edition, 8vo. printed at London about the year 1584.

\* I have not adhered to the orthography of the printed work, which is evidently different from what it must have been in the MS.

persecution\* of us, first, was to stop the wholesome wind of Christ's evangel to blow upon the parts where we converse and dwell; and secondly, so to oppress ourselves by corporal affliction and worldly calamities, that no place should we find to godly study. But by the great mercy and infinite goodness of God our Father, shall these his counsels be frustrate and vain. For, in despite of him and all his wicked members, shall yet that same word (O Lord! this I speak, confiding in thy holy promise) openly be proclaimed in that same country. And how that our merciful Father, amongst these tempestuous storms, by † all men's expectation, hath provided some rest for us, this present work shall testify, which was sent to me in Roane, lying in irons, and sore troubled by corporal infirmity, in a galley named NOSTRE DAME, by an honourable brother, Mr. Henry Balnaves, of Halhill, for the present holden as prisoner, (though unjustly) in the old palace of Roane.‡ Which work after I had once again read to the great comfort and consolation of my spirit, by counsel and advice of the foresaid noble and faithful man, author of the said work, I thought expedient it should be digested in chapters, &c. Which thing I have done as imbecility of ingine§ and incommodity of place would permit; not so much to illustrate the work (which in the self is godly and perfect) as, together with the foresaid nobleman and faithful brother, to give my confession of the article of justification therein contained.|| And I beseech you, beloved brethren,

\* It is "perfection" in the printed copy, which is plainly a mistake.

† i. e. beyond.

‡ Rouen, not Roanne, is the place meant.

§ i. e. genius or wit.

|| See Note K.

earnestly to consider, if we deny any thing presently, (or yet conceal and hide) which any time before we professed in that article. And now we have not the Castle of St. Andrews to be our defence, as some of our enemies falsely accused us, saying, If we wanted our walls, we would not speak so boldly.—But blessed be that Lord whose infinite goodness and wisdom hath taken from us the occasion of that slander, and hath shown unto us, that the serpent hath power only to sting the heel, that is, to molest and trouble the flesh, but not to move the spirit from constant adhering to Christ Jesus, nor public professing of his true word. O blessed be thou, Eternal Father, which, by thy only mercy, hast preserved us to this day, and provided that the confession of our faith (which ever we desired all men to have known) should, by this treatise, come plainly to light. Continue, O Lord, and grant unto us, that as now with pen and ink, so shortly we may confess with voice and tongue the same before thy congregation; upon whom look, O Lord God, with the eyes of thy mercy, and suffer no more darkness to prevail. I pray you pardon me, beloved brethren, that on this manner I digress; vehemency of spirit (the Lord knoweth I lie not) compelleth me thereto.”

The prisoners in Mont St. Michel consulted Knox, as to the lawfulness of attempting to escape by breaking their prison, which was opposed by some of their number, lest their escape should subject their brethren who remained in confinement to more severe treatment. He returned for answer, that such fears were not a sufficient reason for relinquishing the design, and that they might, with a safe conscience, effect their escape, provided it could be done “without the blood of any shed or spilt; but to shed any man’s blood, for their freedom, he



'would never consent.'\* The attempt was accordingly made by them, and successfully executed, "without harm done to the person of any, and without touching any thing that appertained to the king, the captain, or the house."†

At length, after enduring a tedious and severe imprisonment of nineteen months, Knox obtained his liberty. This happened in the month of February, 1549, according to the modern computation.‡ By what means his liberation was procured, I cannot certainly determine. One account says, that the galley in which he was confined, was taken in the channel by the English.§ According to another account, he was liberated by order of the King of France, because it appeared, on examination, that he was not concerned in the murder of the Cardinal, nor accessory to other crimes committed by those who

\* This is the man whom a high church historian has represented as of the principles of the ancient *Zealots* or *Sicarii*, and one who taught that any person who met a papist might kill him! Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* ii. 545.

† Knox, *Historie*, p. 84, 85.

‡ In one of his letters, preserved by Calderwood, Knox says that he was 19 months in the French galleys. Cald. MS. vol. i. 526. In the printed Calderwood, the period of his confinement is limited to nine months, a mistake which has been copied by several writers. It is proper that the reader of that book should be aware, that it consists merely of *excerpts* from Calderwood's History, (which still remains in manuscript,) and, though it has been useful, is not always accurate in what it contains. Knox, in a conference with Mary of Scotland, told the Queen that he was five years resident in England, (*Historie*, 289.) Now, as he came to England immediately after he obtained his liberty, and left it (as we shall afterwards see) in the end of January or beginning of February, 1554, this exactly accords with the date of his liberation, which is given above from Calderwood's MS.

§ This is mentioned in a MS. in my possession; but little weight can be given to it, as it is written in a modern hand, and no authority is produced.

held the Castle of St. Andrews.\* Others say, that his acquaintances purchased his liberty, induced by the hopes which they cherished of great things to be accomplished by him.† It is not improbable, however, that he owed his liberty to the circumstance of the French Court having now accomplished their great object in Scotland, by the consent of the Parliament to the marriage of their young Queen to the Dauphin, and by obtaining possession of her person; after which they felt less inclined to revenge the quarrels of the Scottish clergy.

\* Petrie's Church History, part. ii. p. 134.

† Hamiltonii Dialog. ut supra.

## PERIOD III.

FROM HIS RELEASE FROM THE FRENCH GALLEYS, ANNO 1549, TO HIS DEPARTURE OUT OF ENGLAND, ANNO 1554.

UPON regaining his liberty, Knox immediately repaired to England. The objections which he had formerly entertained against a residence in that kingdom were now in a great measure removed. Henry VIII. died in the year 1547; and Archbishop Cranmer, released from the severe restraint under which he had been held by his tyrannical and capricious master, exerted himself with much zeal in advancing the Reformation. In this he was cordially supported by those who governed the kingdom during the minority of Edward VI. But the undertaking was extensive and difficult, and in carrying it on, he found a great deficiency of ecclesiastical co-adjutors. The greater part of the incumbent bishops, though they externally complied with the alterations introduced by authority, remained attached to the old religion, and secretly thwarted, instead of seconding, the measures of the Primate. The mass of the people were sunk in wretched ignorance of religion, and from ignorance, were addicted to those superstitions to which they had been always accustomed; while the inferior clergy, in general, were as unwilling as they were unable to undertake their instruction.\* Cranmer, with the concurrence

\* Peter Martyr, in a letter, dated Oxford, 1st July, 1550, laments the paucity of useful preachers in England. "*Doleo plus quam dici possit, tanta ubique in Anglia verbi Dei penuria labo-*



of the Protector, had invited learned protestants to come from Germany into England, and placed Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paul Fagius, and Emanuel Tremellius, as professors in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. This was a wise measure, as it secured a future supply of useful preachers, trained up by these able masters. But the necessity was urgent, and demanded immediate provision. For this purpose, it was judged expedient, instead of fixing a number of orthodox and popular preachers in particular charges, to employ them in itinerating through different parts of the kingdom, where the clergy were most illiterate or disaffected, and the inhabitants most addicted to superstition.

In these circumstances, our zealous countryman did not remain long unemployed. The reputation which he had gained by preaching at St. Andrews was not unknown in England, and his late sufferings

rari; et eos qui oves Christi doctrina pascere tenentur, cum usque eo remisse agant, ut officium facere prorsus recusent, nescio quo fletu, quibusve lachrymis deplorari possit. Verum confido fore ut meliora simus visuri." *Martyri Epist. apud Loc. Commun. p. 760. Geneva, 1624.*

This evil, which had its origin in the corrupted state of the popish church, was not corrected at the commencement of the English Reformation; on the contrary, it was considerably aggravated by a ruinous measure then adopted. When Henry suppressed the monasteries, and seized their revenues, pensions were allotted to the monks during life; but to ease the royal treasury of this burden, small benefices in the gift of the crown were conferred upon them instead of their pensions. The nobles, who procured monastic lands under the same burden, imitated the monarch's example. By this means, a great part of the inferior livings were occupied by ignorant and superstitious monks, who were long a dead weight on the English church, and contributed not a little to the sudden reversion of the nation to popery, in the reign of Queen Mary. Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformat.* ii. 24. The suppression of the *chantries*, in the reign of Edward VI. had similar effects. *Strype's Memorials of the Reformation*, ii. 446.

recommended him to Cranmer and the Privy Council. He was accordingly, soon after his arrival in England, sent down from London, by their authority, to preach in Berwick; a situation the more acceptable to him, as it afforded him an opportunity to ascertain the state of religion in his native country, to correspond with his friends, and impart to them his advice.\* The Council had every reason to be pleased with the choice which they had made of a nothern preacher. He had long thirsted for the opportunity which he now enjoyed. His captivity, during which he had felt the powerful support which the protestant doctrine yielded to his mind, had inflamed his love to it, and his zeal against popery. He spared neither time nor bodily strength in the instruction of those to whom he was sent. Regarding the worship of the popish church as grossly idolatrous, and its doctrine as damnable, he attacked both with the utmost fervour, and exerted himself in drawing his hearers from them, with as much eagerness as in saving their lives from a devouring flame or flood. Nor were his labours fruitless; during the two years that he continued in Berwick, numbers were, by his ministry, converted from error and ignorance, and a general reformation of manners became visible among the soldiers of the garrison, who had formerly been noted for turbulence and licentiousness.†

The popularity and success of a protestant preacher were very galling to the clergy in that quarter, who were, almost to a man, bigotted papists, and enjoyed the patronage of the bishop of the diocese. TONSTAL, bishop of DURHAM, like his friend SIR THO-

\* Strype's Memor. of Reform. iii. 235. Knox, Historie. 85. 289.

† Knox, Historie. p. 289.

MAS MORE, was one of those men of whom it is extremely difficult to give a correct idea, qualities of an opposite kind being apparently blended in their character. Surpassing all his brethren in polite learning, he was the patron of bigotry and superstition. Displaying, in private life, that moderation and suavity of manners\* which liberal studies usually inspire, he was accessory to the public measures of a reign, disgraced throughout by the most shocking barbarities. Claiming our praise for honesty, by opposing in Parliament innovations which, in his judgment, he condemned, he again forfeited it by the most tame acquiescence and ample conformity; thereby maintaining his station amidst all the revolutions of religion during three successive reigns. He had paid little attention to the science immediately connected with his profession, and most probably was indifferent to the controversies then agitated; but living in an age in which it was necessary for every man to choose his side, he adhered to those opinions which had been long established, and were friendly to the power and splendour of the ecclesiastical order. As if anxious to atone for his fault, in forwarding those measures which produced a breach between England and the Roman See, he opposed in Parliament all the subsequent changes. Opposition awakened his zeal; he became at last a strenuous advocate for the popish tenets; and wrote a book in defence of transubstantiation, of which, says bishop Burnet, "the Latin style is better than the divinity."

The labours of Knox within his diocese, who exerted himself to overthrow what the bishop wished

\* Sir Thomas More, in one of his letters to Erasmus, gives the following character of Tonstal: "*Ut nemo est omnibus bonis literis instructor, nemo vita moribusque severior, ita nemo est æquam in convietu jœundior.*"



to support, must have been very disagreeable to Tonal. As the preacher acted under the sanction of the Protector and Council, he durst not inhibit him; but he was disposed to listen to and encourage information lodged by the clergy against the doctrine which he taught. Although the town of Berwick was Knox's principal station during the years 1549 and 1550, it is probable that he was appointed to preach occasionally in the adjacent country. Whether, in the course of his itinerancy, he had, in the beginning of 1550, gone as far as Newcastle, and preached in that town, or whether he was called up to it, in consequence of complaints against his sermons delivered at Berwick, does not clearly appear. It is however certain, that a charge was exhibited against him before the bishop, for teaching that the sacrifice of the mass was idolatrous, and a day appointed for him publicly to assign his reasons for this opinion. Accordingly, on the 4th of April, 1550, a great assembly being convened in Newcastle, among whom were the members of the council,\* the bishop of Durham, and the learned men of his cathedral, Knox delivered, in their presence, an ample defence of the doctrine, against which complaints had been made. After an appropriate exordium, in which he stated to the audience the occasion and design of his appearance before them, and cautioned them against the powerful prejudices of education and custom in favour of erroneous opinions and practices

\* Besides the great Council which managed the affairs of the kingdom under the Protector, a number of the privy-counsellors who belonged to this part of the country, composed a subordinate board, called "the Council of the North." The members here referred to belonged probably to this council, and not the town-council of Newcastle. If I am right in this conjecture, Knox might owe to them, and not to the bishop, the liberty of this public defence.

in religion, he proceeded to establish the doctrine which he had taught. The mode in which he treated the subject was well adapted to his auditory, which was composed of the unlearned as well as the learned. He proposed his arguments in the syllogistic form, according to the practice of the schools, but illustrated them with a plainness level to the meanest capacity among his hearers. Passing over the more gross notions, and the shameful traffic in masses, extremely common at that time, he engaged to prove that the mass, "in her most high degree, and most honest garments," was an idol struck from the inventive brain of superstition, which had supplanted the sacrament of the Supper, and engrossed the honour due to the person and sacrifice of Jesus Christ. "Spare no arrows," was the motto which Knox wore on his standard; the authority of Scripture, and the force of reasoning, gave reproof, and pointed irony, were in their turn employed by him. In the course of this defence, he did not restrain those sallies of raillery, which the fooleries of the popish superstition irresistibly provoke, even from those who are deeply impressed with its pernicious tendency. Before concluding, he adverted to certain doctrines which had been taught in that place on the preceding Sunday, the falsehood of which he was prepared to demonstrate; but he would, in the first place, he said, submit to the preacher the notes of the sermon which he had taken down, that he might correct them as he saw proper; for his object was not to misrepresent or captiously entrap a speaker, by catching at words unadvisedly uttered, but to defend the truth, and warn his hearers against errors destructive to their souls. The defence, as drawn up by Knox himself, is now before me in manuscript, and the reader who

wishes a more particular account of its contents will find it in the notes.\*

This defence had the effect of extending Knox's fame through the North of England, while it completely silenced the bishop and his learned suffragans.† He continued to preach at Berwick during the remaining part of this year, and, in the following, was removed to Newcastle, and placed in a sphere of greater usefulness. In December 1551, the Privy Council conferred on him a mark of their approbation, by appointing him one of King Edward's Chaplains in Ordinary. "It was appointed (says his Majesty, in a Journal of important transactions which he wrote with his own hand) that I should have six chaplains ordinary, of which two ever to be present, and four absent in preaching; one year two in Wales, two in Lancashire and Derby; next year two in the marches of Scotland, and two in Yorkshire; the third year two in Norfolk and Essex, and two in Kent and Sussex. These six to be Bill, Harle,‡

\* See Note L.

† The compiler of the account of Knox, prefixed to the edition of his History, printed anno 1732, says, that the MS. containing the Defence, bears that it "quite silenced" the bishop and his doctors. But that writer does not appear to have ever seen the MS. which contains nothing of the kind. The fact is, however, attested by the bishop of Ossory, who had good opportunities of knowing its truth, and who is accurate in his account of other circumstances relative to it. His words are, "Et 4 die Aprilis ejusdem anni [1550] aperiens in concione opinionem, ejus idolatrias et horrendas blasphemias, tam solidis argumentis, abominationem esse probabat, ut, eum omnibus sciolis, Saturnius ille somniator, [Dunelmensis] refragare non possit." Baleus, De Script. Scot. et Hibern. Art. *Knoxus*.

‡ John Harle or Harley, was afterwards made Bishop of Hereford, May 26, 1553. Strype's Cranmer, p. 301. A late writer has confounded this Englishman with William Harlowe, who was minister of St. Cuthbert's church, near Edinburgh. Scott's History of the Reformation in Scotland, p. 242.



Perne, Grindal, Bradford, and ——.”\* The name of the sixth has been dashed out of the Journal, but the industrious Strype has shewn that it was Knox.† “These it seems (says Bishop Burnet) were the most zealous and readiest, preachers, who were sent about as itinerants, to supply the defects of the greatest part of the clergy, who were generally very faulty.”‡ An annual salary of £40 was allotted to each of the chaplains.§

In the course of this year, Knox was consulted about the Book of Common Prayer, which was undergoing a review. On that occasion, it is probable that he was called up for a short time to London. Although the persons who had the chief direction of ecclesiastical affairs were not disposed, or did not think it yet expedient, to introduce that thorough reform which he judged necessary, in order to reduce the worship of the English church to the scripture-model, his representations were not altogether disregarded. He had influence to procure an important change on the communion-office, completely excluding the notion of the corporeal pre-

\* King Edward's Journal, apud Burnet, ii. Records, p. 42.

† Memorials of the Reformation, ii. 297. Memor. of Cranmer, p. 292. Burnet, iii. 212. Records, 420, 422.

‡ Burnet, ii. 171.

§ Strype's Memor. of Reform. ut supra. Life of Grindal, p. 7. Mr. Strype says, that the number of chaplains was afterwards reduced to four, Bradford and Knox being dropped from the list. But we find both of these preaching in their turn before the Court, in the year 1553. In the Council-Book a warrant was granted, October 27, 1552, to four gentlemen to pay to Knox, “his Majesty's preacher in the North, forty pounds, as his Majesty's reward.” Strype's Cranmer, 292. This salary he retained until the death of Edward; for in a letter wrote by him at the time he left England, he says: “Ather the Queen's Majestie, or sum Thesaurer will be 40 pounds rycher by me, sae meikle lack I of the deutie of my patentis: but that littil trubillis me.” MS. Letters, p. 286.

sence of Christ in the sacrament, and guarding against the adoration of the elements, too much countenanced by the practice of kneeling at their reception, which was still continued.\* Knox speaks of these amendments with great satisfaction, in his *Admonition to the Professors of the Truth in England*. "Also God gave boldness and knowledge to the Court of Parliament to take away the *round clipped god*, wherein standeth all the holiness of the papists, and to command common bread to be used at the Lord's table, and also to take away the most part of superstitions (kneeling at the Lord's table excepted) which before prophaned Christ's true religion." These alterations gave great offence to the papists. In a disputation with Latimer, after the accession of Queen Mary, the Prolocutor, Dr. Weston, complained of our countryman's influence in procuring them. "A *runnagate Scot* did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresie was put into the last communion-book; so much prevailed that one man's authoritie at that time."† In the following year, he was employed in revising the *Articles of Religion*, previous to their ratification by Parliament.‡

\* See Note M.

† Fox, p. 1326. Strype questions the truth of Weston's statement, and says that Knox "was hardly come into England (at least any further than Newcastle) at this time." *Annals*, iii. 117. But we have already seen that he arrived in England as early as the beginning of anno 1549.

‡ "October 2, (1552,) a letter was directed to Mess. Harley, Bill, Horn, Grindal, Pern, and Knox, to consider certain articles exhibited to the King's Majesty, to be subscribed by all such as shall be admitted to be preachers or ministers in any part of the realm; and to make report of their opinions touching the same." Council-book, apud Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 273. Their report was returned before the 20th of November, *ibid.* p. 301. Burnet says the order was given, Octob. 20. *History*, iii. 212. The articles

During his residence at Berwick, Knox had formed an acquaintance with *Miss Marjory Bowes*, a young lady who afterwards became his wife. She belonged to the honourable family of Bowes, and was nearly allied to Sir Robert Bowes, a distinguished courtier during the reign of Henry VIII. and his son Edward. Before he left Berwick, he had paid his addresses to this young lady, and met with a favourable reception. Her mother was also friendly to the match; but owing to some reason, most probably the presumed aversion of her father, it was deemed prudent to delay the consummating of the union. But having come under a formal promise to her, he considered himself, from that time, as sacredly bound, and, in his letters to Mrs. Bowes, always addressed her by the name of *Mother* \*

Without derogating from the praise justly due to those worthy men who were at this time employed in disseminating religious truth through England, I may say, that our countryman was not behind the first of them, in the unwearied assiduity with which he laboured in the stations assigned to him. From an early period, his mind seems to have presaged, that the golden opportunity enjoyed, would not be of long duration. He was eager to “redeem the time,” and indefatigable both in his studies and teaching. In addition to his ordinary services on Sabbath, he preached regularly on week days, frequented to at this time were 42 in number. In 1562 they were reduced to 39, as they still continue.

\* From this appellation in the MS. letters, I concluded that Knox was married to Miss Bowes before he left Berwick, until I met with a book printed by him, to which one of his letters to Mrs. Bowes was added. On the margin of this, opposite to a place in which he had named her mother, is this note: “I had maid faithful promise, before witnes, to Mariorie Bowes her daughter, so as she take me for sone, I hartly embrased her as my mother.” Knox’s Answer to Tyrie the Jesuit. F. ij.



quently on every day of the week.\* Besides the portion of time which he allotted to study, he was often employed in conversing with persons who applied to him for advice on religious subjects.† The Council were not insensible to the value of his services, and conferred on him several marks of approbation. They wrote different letters to the governors and principal inhabitants of the places where he preached, recommending him to their notice and protection.‡ They secured him in the regular payment of his salary, until such time as he should be provided with a benefice.§ It was also out of respect to him, that, in September 1552, they granted a patent to his brother *William Knox*, a merchant, giving him liberty for a limited time, to trade to any port of England, in a vessel of a hundred tone burden.||

\* MS. Letters, p. 265, 276.

† Ibid. *passim*.

‡ They wrote a letter in his commendation. Dec. 9, 1552, to Lord Wharton Deputy Warden of the Borders. When he was employed in Buckinghamshire, during the following year, in order to secure greater acceptance and respect to him in that county, they wrote in his favour to Lord Russel and Windsor, the Justices of the Peace, and other gentlemen. Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 292.

§ Strype's *Memor. of the Reformation*, ii. 533.

|| Bishop Burnet, and Mr. Strype, (*Memor. of Reform.* ii. 299.) who record this fact, conjecture that the patentee was a relation of our Reformer. That he was his brother, is evident from Knox's letters, which mention his being in England about this time. In a letter written in 1553, he says: "My brother, *Williame Knox*, is presentlie with me. What ye wald haif frome Scotland, let me knaw this Monunday at nycht; for hie must depart on Tyisday." MS. p. 271. The same person seems to be meant in the following extract from another letter: "My brother hath communicat his haill hart with me; and I persave the mychtie operation of God. And sa lat us be establissit in his infinit gudnes and maist sure promissis." MS. 266.

*William Knox* afterwards became a preacher, and was minister of Cockpen, in Mid. Lothian, after the establishment of the Re-

But the things which recommended Knox to the Council, drew upon him the hatred of a numerous and powerful party in the Northern counties, who remained addicted to popery. Irritated by his boldness and success in attacking their superstition, and sensible that it would be vain, and even dangerous, to prefer an accusation against him on that ground, they watched for an opportunity of catching at something in his discourses or behaviour, which they might improve to his disadvantage. He had long observed with great anxiety the impatience with which the papists submitted to the present government, and their eager desires for any change which might lead to the overthrow of the protestant religion; desires which were expressed by them in the North, without that reserve which prudence dictated in places adjacent to the seat of authority. He had witnessed the joy with which they received the news of the Protector's fall, and was no stranger to the satisfaction with which they circulated prognostications as to the speedy demise of the king. In a sermon preached by him about Christmas 1552, he gave vent to his feelings on this subject; and, lamenting the obstinacy of the papists, asserted, that such as were enemies to the gospel, then preached in England, were secret traitors to the crown and commonwealth, thirsted for nothing more than his Majesty's death, and cared not who should reign over them, provided they got their idolatry again erected. This free speech was immediately laid hold on by his enemies, and transmitted, with many aggravations, to some great men about court, secretly in their inte-

formation in Scotland. No fewer than fourteen ministers of the church of Scotland are numbered among his descendants. Genealogical account of the Knoxes, apud Scott's History of the Reformers in Scotland, p. 152.

rest, who thereupon preferred a charge against him, for high offences, before the Privy Council.\*

In taking this step, they were not a little encouraged by their knowledge of the sentiments of the Duke of Northumberland, who had lately come down to his charge as Warden General of the Northern marches.† This ambitious and unprincipled nobleman had employed his affected zeal for the reformed religion as a stirrup to mount to the highest preferment in the state, which he had recently secured by the ruin of the Duke of Somerset, the Protector of the kingdom. Knox had offended him by publicly lamenting the fall of Somerset as threatening danger to the Reformation, of which he had always shewn himself a zealous friend, whatever his other faults might have been.‡ Nor could the freedom which the preacher used, in reproving from the pulpit the vices of great as well as small, fail to be displeasing to a man of Northumberland's character. On these accounts, he was desirous to have Knox removed from that quarter, and had actually applied for this, by a letter to the Council, previous to the occurrence just mentioned; alleging, as a pretext, the great resort of Scotsmen unto him: as if any real danger was to be apprehended from this intercourse with a man, of whose fidelity the existing govern-

\* MS. Letters, p. 193. Knox's Admonition to the Professors of the Truth in England, p. 61. apud History, Edin. 1644, 4 to.

† The Earl of Warwick, now created Duke of Northumberland, was appointed Warden General of the Northern marches in Oct. 1551. But having important objects to secure at court, he excused himself from going North until June, 1552. Strype's Memor. of the Reformation, ii. 282, 339.

‡ MS. Letters. p. 112, 173. Knox considered that the papists had a secret hand in fomenting those dissensions which led to the condemnation and execution of the protector. His suspicions were not illfounded. See Strype's Memor. of the Reform. ii. 306—7.



ment had so many strong pledges, and who uniformly employed all his influence to remove the prejudices of his countrymen against England.\*

In consequence of the charges exhibited against him to the Council, he received a citation to repair immediately to London, and answer for his conduct. The following extract of a letter, addressed to his sister,† will shew the state of his mind on receiving this summons. “Urgent necessity will not suffer that I testify my mind unto you. My Lord of Westmoreland‡ has written unto me this Wednesday at six of the clock at night, immediately thereafter to repair unto him, as I will answer at my peril. I could not obtain licence to remain the time of the sermon upon the morrow. Blessed be God who does ratify and confirm the truth of his word from time to time, as our weakness shall require! Your adversary, sister, doth labour that you should doubt whether this be the word of God or not. If there had never been testimonial of the undoubted truth thereof before these our ages, may not such things as we

\* The Duke’s letter was dated Nov. 23, 1552. Hayne’s State Papers. i. 136. Brand’s History of Newcastle, p. 304. Redpath’s Border History. p. 577.

† A great number of his letters in the MS. are superscribed “To his Sister.” It appears from internal evidence that this was a daughter of Mrs. Bowes, but whether the young lady whom he married, or a sister of hers, I cannot say with certainty. One letter has this superscription: “To Mariorie Bowes, who was his first wife.” In it he addresses her by the name of *Sister*, and at the close says: “I think this be the first letter that I ever wrait to you.” MS. p. 335. But there is no date by which to compare it with other letters.

‡ Henry Nevyl, Earl of Westmoreland, was, by the interest of the Duke of Northumberland, admitted a member of the Privy Council, anno 1552. He was also a member of the Council for the North, and Lord Lieutenant of the bishopric of Durham. His private character was indifferent. Strype’s Memor. of the Reformation, ii. 401, 457—9.

see daily come to pass prove the verity thereof? Doth it not affirm, that it shall be preached, and yet contemned and lightly regarded by many, and yet true professors thereof shall be hated by father, mother, and others of the contrary religion; that the most faithful shall be persecuted? And cometh not all these things to pass in ourselves? Rejoice, sister, for the same word that foresheweth trouble, doth certify us of the glory consequent. As for myself, albeit the extremity should now apprehend me, it is not come unlooked for. But, alas! I fear that yet I be not ripe nor able to glorify Christ by my death; but what lacketh now, God shall perform in his own time.—Be sure I will not forget you and your company, so long as mortal man may remember any earthly creature.”\*

Upon reaching London, he found that his enemies had been uncommonly industrious in exciting prejudices against him, by transmitting the most false and calumnious information. But the Council, after hearing his defences, were convinced of their malice, and honourably acquitted him. He was employed to preach before the court, and gave great satisfaction, particularly to his Majesty, who contracted a favour for him, and was very desirous to have him promoted in the church.† It was resolved by the Council that he should preach in London and the southern counties, during the year 1553; but he was allowed to return for a short time to Newcastle, either to settle his affairs, or as a public testimony of his innocence. In a letter to his sister, dated Newcastle, 23d March, 1553, we find him writing as follows: “Look farther of this matter in

\* MS. letters, p. 267—9.

† Ibid. p. 412. Melchior Adam, Vit. Ext. Theol. p. 137.

the other letter,\* written unto you at such time as many thought I should never write after to man. Heinous were the delations laid against me, and many are the lies that are made to the Council. But God one day shall destroy all lying tongues, and shall deliver his servants from calamity. I look but one day or other to fall in their hands; for more and more rageth the members of the devil against me. This assault of Satan has been to his confusion, and to the glory of God. And therefore, sister, cease not to praise God, and to call for my comfort; for great is the multitude of enemies, whom every one the Lord shall confound. I intend not to depart from Newcastle before Easter."

The vigour of his constitution had been greatly impaired by his confinement in the French galleys, which, together with his labours in England, had brought on a gravel. In the course of the year 1553, he endured several violent attacks of this acute disorder, accompanied with severe pain in his head and stomach. "My daily labours must now increase (says he, in the letter last quoted,) and therefore spare me as much as you may. My old malady troubles me sore, and nothing is more contrarious to my health than writing. Think not that I weary to visit you; but unless my pain shall cease, I will altogether become unprofitable. Work, O Lord, even as pleaseth thy infinite goodness, and relax the troubles, at thy own pleasure, of such as seeketh thy glory to shine, Amen."† In another letter to the same correspondent, he writes: "The pain of my head and stomach troubles me greatly. Daily I find my body decay; but the providence of my God shall not be frustrate. I am charged to be at Wid-

\* The letter last quoted. MS. p. 273—4. compared with p. 268.

† MS. p. 276.



drington upon Sunday, where I think I shall also remain Monday. The Spirit of the Lord Jesus rest with you. Desire such faithful as with whom ye communicate your mind, to pray that, at the pleasure of our good God, my dolour both of body and spirit may be relieved somewhat; for presently it is very bitter. Never found I the spirit, I praise my God, so abundant where God's glory ought to be declared; and therefore I am sure there abides something that yet we see not."\* "Your messenger (says he in another letter) found me in bed, after a sore trouble and most dolorous night; and so dolour may complain to dolour when we two meet. But the infinite goodness of God, who never despiseth the petitions of a sore troubled heart, shall, at his good pleasure, put end to these pains that we presently suffer, and in place thereof shall crown us with glory and immortality for ever. But, dear sister, I am even of mind with faithful Job, yet most sore tormented, that my pain shall have no end in this life. The power of God may, against the purpose of my heart, alter such things as appear not to be altered, as he did unto Job; but dolour and pain, with sore anguish, cries the contrary. And this is more plain than ever I speak, to let you know ye have a fellow and companion in trouble; and thus rest in Christ, for the head of the serpent is already broken down, and he is stinging us upon the heel."†

About the beginning of April, 1553, he returned to London. In the month of February preceding, Archbishop Cranmer had been desired by the Council to present him to the vacant living of *All-Hallows* in that city.‡ This proposal, which originated in

\* MS. p. 260—1.

† Ibid. p. 262.

‡ Strype's Cranmer, p. 292:

the personal favour of the young King, was very disagreeable to Northumberland, who exerted himself privately to hinder his preferment. His interference was, however, unnecessary on the present occasion; for when the living was offered to him, Knox declined it, and when questioned as to his reasons, readily acknowledged, that he had not freedom in his mind to accept of a fixed charge, in the present state of the English church. His refusal, with the reason assigned, having given offence, he was, on the 14th of April, called before the Privy Council. There were present the archbishop of Canterbury, Goodrick, bishop of Ely, and Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Bedford, Northampton, and Shrewsbury, the Lords Treasurer and Chamberlain, with the two Secretaries. They asked him, Why he had refused the benefice provided for him in London? He answered, that he was fully satisfied that he could be more useful to the church in another situation. Being interrogated, If it was his opinion, that no person could lawfully serve in ecclesiastical ministrations, according to the present laws of that realm? he frankly replied, That there were many things which needed reformation, without which, ministers could not, in his opinion, discharge their office conscientiously in the sight of God; for no minister, according to the existing laws, had power to prevent the unworthy from participating of the sacraments, which was "a chief point of his office." He was asked, If kneeling at the Lord's table was not indifferent? He replied, that Christ's action was most perfect, and in it no such posture was used; that it was most safe to follow his example; and that kneeling was an addition and invention of men. On this article, there was a smart dispute between him and some of the Lords of the Council. After long reasoning, he was told, that

they had not sent for him with any bad design, but were sorry to understand that he was of a contrary judgment to the common order. He said, he was sorry that the common order was contrary to Christ's institution. They dismissed him with soft speeches, advising him to endeavour to bring his mind to communicate according to the established rites.\*

If honours and emoluments could have biassed the independent mind of our countryman, he must have been induced to become a full conformist to the English church. At the special request of Edward VI. and with the concurrence of his Council, he was offered a bishopric; but the same reasons which prevented him from accepting the living of All-hallows, determined him to reject this more tempting offer. The fact is attested by Beza, who adds, that his refusal was accompanied with a censure of the episcopal office, as destitute of divine authority, and not even exercised, in England, according to the ecclesiastical canons.† Knox himself speaks, in one of his treatises, of the "high promotions" offered to him by Edward;‡ and we shall find him, at a later period of his life, expressly asserting, that he had refused a bishopric §

\* The account of this examination before the Council is taken from a letter of Knox, the substance of which has been inserted in Calderwood's MS. and by Strype (*Memorials of the Ref.* vol. ii. p. 400.)

† Bezae Icones, Ee. iij. Verheideni Effigies, p. 92, 93. Melch. Adam. p. 137.

‡ MS. Letters, p. 73.

§ Tonsal being sequestered upon a charge of misprison of treason the Council had come to a resolution, about this time, to divide his extensive diocese into two bishoprics, the seat of one of which was to be at Durham, and of the other at Newcastle. Ridley, bishop of London, was to be translated to the former, and it is not improbable that Knox was intended for the latter. "He



It may be proper, in this place, to give a more particular account of Knox's sentiments respecting the English church. It is well known, that the Reformation of religion was conducted in England in a very different way from what was afterwards adopted in Scotland, both as to worship and ecclesiastical polity. In England, the papal supremacy was transferred to the prince, the hierarchy, being subjected to the civil power, was suffered to remain, and the principal forms of the ancient worship, after removing the grosser superstitions, were retained; whereas, in Scotland, all of these were discarded, as destitute of divine authority, unprofitable, burdensome, or savouring of popery; and the worship and government of the church were reduced to the primitive standard of scriptural simplicity. The influence of Knox, in recommending this establishment to his countrymen, is universally allowed; but, as he officiated for a considerable time in the church of England, and on this account was supposed to have been pleased with its constitution, it has been usually said that he contracted a dislike to it during his exile on the continent, after the death of Edward VI. and having then imbibed the sentiments of Calvin, carried them along with him to his native country, and organized the Scottish church after the Genevan model. This statement is inaccurate. His objections to the English liturgy were increased and strengthened during his residence on the continent, but they existed before that time. His judgment respecting ecclesiastical government and discipline was matured during that period, but his radical sentiments on these heads were formed long before he

was offered a bishopric (says Brand,) probably to the new founded one at Newcastle, which he refused—*revera noluit episcopari*.<sup>22</sup> History of Newcastle, p. 304.

saw Calvin, or had any intercourse with the foreign reformers. At Geneva he saw a church, which, *upon the whole*, corresponded with his idea of the divinely authorised pattern; but he did not indiscriminately approve, nor servilely imitate either that, or any other existing establishment.\*

As early as the year 1547, he taught, in his first sermons at St. Andrews, that no mortal man could be head of the church, that there were no true bishops, but such as preached personally without a substitute, that in religion men are bound to regulate themselves by divine laws, and that the sacraments ought to be administered exactly according to the institution and example of Christ. We have seen that, in a solemn disputation in the same place, he maintained that the church has no authority, on pretext of decorating divine service, to devise ceremonies, and impose significations upon them.† This position he also defended in the year 1550, at Newcastle, and in his late appearance before the Privy Council at London. It was impossible that the English church, in any of the shapes which it assumed, could stand the test of these principles. The ecclesiastical supremacy, the various orders and dependencies of the hierarchy, crossing in baptism, and kneeling in the eucharist, with other ceremonies; the theatrical dress, the mimical gestures, the vain repetitions used in religious service, were all cashiered and repudiated by the cardinal principle to which he steadily adhered, that in the Church of Christ, and especially in the acts of worship, every thing

\* The churches of Geneva and Scotland did not agree in all points. *Holidays* have always been observed by the former, but were rejected by the latter from the very first establishment of the Reformation. Other things in which they differed might easily be mentioned.

† Knox, *Historie*, p. 72.—74, and this *Life*, p. 48. 49.

ought to be arranged and conducted, not by the pleasure and appointment of men, but according to the dictates of inspired wisdom and authority.

He rejoiced that liberty and encouragement were given to preach the pure word of God throughout the extensive realm of England; that idolatry and gross superstition were suppressed; and that the rulers were disposed to support the Reformation, and even to carry it farther than had yet been done. Considering the character of the greater part of the clergy, the extreme paucity of useful preachers, and other hindrances to the introduction of the primitive order and discipline of the church, he acquiesced in the authority exercised by a part of the bishops, under the direction of the Privy Council, and endeavoured to strengthen their hands, in the advancement of the common cause, by painful preaching in the stations which were assigned to him. But he could not be induced to contradict or conceal his decided sentiments, and cautiously avoided coming under engagements, by which he would have approved what he was convinced to be unlawful, or injurious to the interests of religion. Upon these principles, he never submitted to the unlimited use of the liturgy, during the time that he was in England,\*

\* Cald. MS. i. 250. During the reign of Edward and even the first years of his sister Elizabeth's, absolute conformity to the liturgy was not pressed upon ministers. Strype's Annals i. 449, 432. Burnet, iii. 305, 311. Hutchinson's Antiq. of Durham. i. 453. Archbishop Parker, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, administered the elements to the communicants *standing*, in the cathedral church of Canterbury. Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed the communion to be received in the same posture in Coventry; and the practice was continued in that town as late, at least, as the year 1608. Certain demands propounded unto Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, &c. p. 45. Anno 1605. Removal of Imputations laid upon Ministers of Devon and Cornwall, p. 51. Anno 1606. A Dispute upon the Question of Kneeling, p. 131. Anno 1608.



refused to become a bishop, and declined accepting a fixed charge. When he perceived that progress in Reformation was arrested, by the influence of a popish faction and the dictates of a temporising policy; that abuses, which had formerly been acknowledged, began to be vindicated and stiffly maintained; above all, when he saw, after the accession of Elizabeth, that a retrograde course was taken, and a yoke of ceremonies, more grievous than that which the most sincere protestants had formerly complained of, was imposed and enforced by arbitrary statutes, he judged it necessary to speak in a tone of more decided and severe reprehension.

Among other things which he censured in the English ecclesiastical establishment, were the continuing to employ a great number of ignorant and insufficient priests, who had been accustomed to nothing but saying mass, and singing the litany; the general substitution of the reading of homilies, the mumbling of prayers, or the chaunting of matins and even-song, in the place of preaching; the formal celebration of the sacraments, unaccompanied with instruction to the people; the scandalous prevalence of pluralities; and the total want of ecclesiastical discipline. He was of opinion that the clergy ought not to be entangled, and diverted from the duties of their offices, by holding civil places; that the bishops should lay aside their secular titles and dignities; that the bishoprics should be divided, so that in every city or large town, there might be placed a godly and learned man, with others joined with him for the management of ecclesiastical matters; and that schools for the education of youth should be universally erected through the nation.\*

\* This statement of his sentiments is drawn from his Brief Exhortation to England for the speedy embracing of Christ's gospel;

Nor did the principal persons who were active in effecting the English Reformation differ widely from Knox in these sentiments; although they might not have the same conviction of their importance, and the expediency of reducing them to practice. We will mistake exceedingly, if we suppose that they were men of the same principles and temper with many who succeeded to their places, that they were satisfied with the pitch to which they had carried the Reformation of the English church, and regarded it as a paragon and perfect pattern to other churches. They were strangers to those extravagant and illiberal notions which were afterwards adopted by the fond admirers of the hierarchy and liturgy. They would have laughed at the man who would have seriously asserted, that the ceremonies constituted any part of "the beauty of holiness," or that the imposition of the hands of a bishop was essential to the validity of ordination; they would not have owned that person as a protestant who would have ventured to insinuate, that where this was wanting, there was no Christian ministry, no ordinances, no church, and perhaps—no salvation! Many things which their successors have applauded, they barely tolerated, and they would have been happy if the circumstances of their time would have permitted them to introduce alterations, which have since been cried down as puritannical innovations. Strange as it may appear to some, I am not afraid of exceeding the truth when I say, that if the first English reformers (including the protestant bishops) had been left to their own choice, if they had not been held back by the dead weight of a large mass of popishly-printed at Geneva, Anno 1559, and at the end of his history, Edinburgh, 1641, 4to. and from his letters to Mrs. Locke, dated 6th April, and 15th Oct. 1559, apud Cald. MS. i. 380, 491.

affected clergy in the reign of Edward, and restrained by the supreme civil authority on the accession of Elizabeth, they would have brought the government and worship of the church of England, nearly to the pattern of the other reformed churches. If the reader doubts this, he may consult the evidence produced in the notes.\*

Such, in particular, was the earnest wish of his Majesty Edward VI. a prince who, besides his other rare qualities, had an unfeigned reverence for the word of God, and a disposition to comply with its precriptions in preference to custom and established usages, who shewed himself uniformly inclined to give relief to his conscientious subjects, and sincerely bent on promoting the union of all the friends of the reformed religion at home and abroad. Of his intentions on this head, there remain the most unquestionable and satisfactory documents.† Had his life been spared, there is every reason to think that he would have accomplished the rectification of those evils in the English church, which the most steady and enlightened protestants have lamented. Had his sister Elizabeth been of the same spirit with him, and prosecuted the plan which he laid down, she would have united all the friends of the Reformation, the great support of her authority; she would have weakened the interest of the Roman Catholics, whom all her accommodating measures could not gain, nor prevent from repeatedly conspiring against her life and crown; she would have put an end to those dissensions among her protestant subjects which continued during the whole of her reign, which she bequeathed as a legacy to her successors, and which, being fomented and exasperated by the severities employed for their suppression, at length burst forth

\* See Note N.

† See Note O.



to the temporary overthrow of the hierarchy, and of the monarchy (which patronized its exorbitancies, and resisted a reform, which had been previously attempted upon sober and enlightened principles;) dissensions which subsist to this day, and, though softened by the partial lenitive of a toleration, have gradually alienated from the communion of that church a large proportion of the population of the nation, and which, if a timely and salutary remedy be not applied, may ultimately undermine the foundations of the English establishment.

During the time that Knox was in London, he had full opportunity for observing the state of the court; and the observations which he made filled his mind with the most anxious forebodings. Of the piety and sincerity of the young king, he entertained not the smallest doubt. Personal acquaintance heightened the idea which he had conceived of his character from report, and enabled him to add his testimony to the tribute of praise, which all who knew that prince have so cheerfully paid to his uncommon virtues and endowments.\* But the principal courtiers, by whom he was at that time surrounded, were persons of a very different description, and gave proofs, too unequivocal to be mistaken, of indifference to all religion, and readiness to fall in with and forward the re-establishment of the ancient superstition, whenever this might be required upon a change of rulers. The health of Edward, which had long been declining, growing gradually worse, so that no

\*“ We had (says he in his letter to the faithful in London, Newcastle, and Berwick) ane King of sa godlie disposition towardis vertew, and the treuth of God, that nane frome the beginning passit him, and (to my knowledge) none of his yeiris did ever mache him, in that behalf; gif hie myght haif bene lord of his awn will.” MS. Letters, p. 119. He has passed a more full encomium upon this prince, in his *Historie*, p. 89.

hope of his recovery remained, they were eager only about the aggrandizing of their families, and providing for the security of their places and fortunes.

The royal chaplains were men of a very different stamp from those who have usually occupied that place in the courts of princes. They were no time-serving, supple, smooth-tongued parasites; they were not afraid of forfeiting their pensions, or of alarming the consciences, and wounding the delicate ears of their royal and noble auditors, by denouncing the vices which they committed, and the judgments of heaven to which they exposed themselves. The freedom used by the venerable Latimer is well known from his printed sermons, which, for their homely honesty, artless simplicity, native humour, and genuine pictures of the manners of the age, continue still to be read with interest. Grindal, Lever, and Bradford, who were superior to him in learning, evinced the same fidelity and courage. They censured the ambition, avarice, luxury, oppression, and irreligion which reigned in the court. As long as their Sovereign was able to give personal attendance on the sermons, the preachers were treated with exterior decency and respect; but after he was confined to his chamber by a consumptive cough, the resentment of the courtiers vented itself openly in the most contumelious speeches and insolent behaviour.\* Those who are acquainted with our countryman's character, will readily conceive that the sermons delivered by him at court, were not less bold and free than those of his colleagues. We may form a judgment of them, from the account which he has given of the last sermon which he preached before his Majesty, in which he directed several piercing glances of reproof at the haughty premier, and his

\* See Note P.

crafty relation, the Marquis of Winchester, Lord High Treasurer, both of whom were among his hearers.\*

On the 6th of July, 1553, Edward VI. departed this life, to the unspeakable grief of all the lovers of learning, virtue, and the protestant religion; and a black cloud spread over England, which, after hovering a while, burst into a dreadful hurricane, that raged during five years with the most destructive fury. Knox was at this time in London.† He received the afflicting tidings of his Majesty's decease with becoming fortitude and resignation to the sovereign will of Heaven. The event did not meet him unprepared: he had long anticipated it, with its probable consequences; the prospect had produced the keenest anguish in his breast, and drawn tears from his eyes; and he had frequently introduced the subject into his public discourses and confidential conversation with his friends. Writing to Mrs. Bowes, some time after this, he says: "How oft have you and I talked of these present days, till neither of us both could refrain tears, when no such appearance then was seen of man! How oft have I said un-

\* His text was John xiii. 18. *He that eateth bread with me, hath lifted up his heel against me.* It had been often seen, he said, that the most excellent and godly princes were surrounded with false and ungodly officers and counsellors. Having enquired into the reasons of this, and illustrated the fact from the scripture examples of Achitophel under King David. Shebna under Hezekiah, and Judas under Jesus Christ, he added: "What wonder is it, then, that a young and innocent king be deceived, by crafty, covetous, wicked, and ungodly counsellors? I am greatly afraid that Achitophel be counsellor, that Judas bear the purse, and that Shebna be scribe, comptroller, and treasurer." MS. Letters, p. 175—177, and Admonition, p. 52, 54, apud History, Edin. 1644. 4to.

† One of his letters to Mrs. Bowes is dated London, 23d June, 1553. MS. Letters, p. 249. And from other letters it appears he was still there in the following month.



to you, that I looked daily for trouble, and that I wondered at it, that so long I should escape it! What moved me to refuse (and that with displeasure of all men, even of those that best loved me) those high promotions that were offered by him whom God hath taken from us for our offences? Assuredly the foresight of trouble to come. How oft have I said unto you, that the time would not be long that England would give me bread! Advise with the last letter that I wrote unto your brother-in-law, and consider what is therein contained."\*

He remained in London until the 19th of July, when Mary was proclaimed Queen, only nine days after the same ceremony had been performed in that city, for the amiable and unfortunate Lady Jane Grey. He was so affected with the thoughtless demonstrations of joy given by the inhabitants at an event which threatened such danger to the religious faith which they still avowed, that he could not refrain from publicly testifying his displeasure, and warning them in his sermons of the calamities which they might look for.† Immediately after this, he seems to have withdrawn from London, and retired to the North, being justly apprehensive of the measures which might be pursued by the new government.‡

To induce the protestants to submit peaceably to her government, Mary amused them for some time with proclamations, in which she promised not to do violence to their consciences. Though aware of the bigotry of the Queen, and the spirit of the religion

\* MS. p. 73, 74, also p. 250.

† In his "Letter to the faithful in London, &c." he puts them in mind of the premonitions which he had given on different occasions, and, among others, of "what was spoken in Londone in ma places nor ane, when fyreis of joy and ryattous banketting wer at the proclamation of Marie your quene." MS. p. 112. 113.

‡ One of his letters is dated, Carlisle, 26th July, 1553. MS. p. 270.

to which she was devoted, the protestant ministers reckoned it their duty to improve this respite. In the month of August, Knox returned to the South, and resumed his labours. It seems to have been at this time that he composed the *Confession* and *Prayer*, which he commonly used in the congregations to which he preached, in which he prayed for Queen Mary by name, and for the suppression of such as meditated rebellion.\* While he itinerated through Buckinghamshire, he was attended by large audiences, which his popularity and the alarming crisis drew together; especially at Amersham, a borough formerly noted for the general reception of the doctrines of Wickliffe, the precursor of the Reformation in England, and from which the seed sown by his followers had never been altogether eradicated. Wherever he went, he earnestly exhorted the people to repentance under the tokens of divine displeasure, and to a steady adherence to the faith which they had embraced. He continued to preach in Buckinghamshire and Kent during the harvest months, although the measures of government daily rendered his safety more precarious; and in the beginning of November, returned to London, where he resided in the houses of Mr. Locke and Mr. Hickman, two respectable merchants of his acquaintance.†

While the measures of the new government threatened danger to all the protestants in the kingdom, and our countryman was under daily apprehensions of imprisonment, he met with a severe trial of a private nature. I have already mentioned his engagements to Miss Bowes. At this time, it was judged proper by both parties to avow the connexion, and to proceed to solemnize the union. This step was

\* See Note Q.

† MS. Letters. p. 289, 291.

opposed by the young lady's father; and his opposition was accompanied with circumstances which gave much distress to Knox, Mrs. Bowes, and her daughter. His refusal seems to have proceeded from family pride; but I am inclined to think that it was also influenced by religious considerations; as from different hints dropped in the correspondence, Mr. Bowes appears to have been, if not inclined to popery in his judgment, at least resolved to comply with the religion now favoured by the court. We find Knox writing to Mrs. Bowes on this subject from London, in a letter, dated 20th September, 1553. "My great labours, wherein I desire your daily prayers, will not suffer me to satisfy my mind touching all the process between your husband and you, touching my matter with his daughter. I praise God heartily, both for your boldness and constancy. But I beseech you, mother, trouble not yourself too much therewith. It becomes me now to jeopard my life for the comfort and deliverance of my own flesh,\* as that I will do, by God's grace, both fear and friendship of all earthly creature laid aside. I have written to your husband, the contents whereof I trust our brother Harry will declare to you and to my wife. If I escape sickness and imprisonment, [you may] be sure to see me soon."†

His wife and mother-in-law were very anxious that he should settle in Berwick, or the neighbourhood of it, where he might perhaps be allowed to reside peaceably, although in a more private way than formerly. But for this purpose some pecuniary provision was requisite. Since the accession of Queen Mary, the payment of the salary allotted to him by government had been stopped. Indeed, he had

\* His wife.

† MS. Letters, p. 290, 291.



not received any part of it for the last twelvemonths. His wife's relations were abundantly able to give him a sufficient establishment, but their dissatisfaction with the marriage rendered them averse. Induced by the importunity of his mother-in-law, he applied to Sir Robert Bowes at London, and attempted by a candid explanation of all circumstances, to remove any umbrage which he had conceived against him, and procure an amicable settlement of the whole affair. He communicated the unfavourable issue of this interview, in a letter to Mrs. Bowes, of which the following is an extract.

“Dear Mother, so may and will I call you, not only for the tender affection I bear unto you in Christ, but also for the motherly kindness ye have shewn unto me at all times since our first acquaintance, albeit such things as I have desired (if it had pleased God), and ye and others have long desired, are never like to come to pass, yet shall ye be sure that my love and care toward you shall never abate, so long as I can care for any earthly creature. Ye shall understand that this 6th of November, I spake with Sir Robert Bowes, on the matter ye know, according to your request, whose disdainful, yea despiteful words hath so pierced my heart, that my life is bitter unto me. I bear a good countenance with a sore troubled heart; while he that ought to consider matters with a deep judgment is become not only a despiser, but also a taunter of God's messengers. God be merciful unto him. Among other his most displeasing words, while that I was about to have declared my part in the whole matter, he said, ‘Away with your rhetorical reasons, for I will not be persuaded with them.’ God knows I did use no rhetoric or coloured speech, but would have spoken the truth, and that in most simple manner

I am not a good oratour in my own cause. But what he would not be content to hear of me, God shall declare to him one day to his displeasure, unless he repent. It is supposed that all the matter comes by you and me. I pray God that your conscience were quiet, and at peace, and I regard not what country consume this my wicked carcase. And were [it] not that no man's unthankfulness shall move me (God supporting my infirmity) to cease to do profit unto Christ's congregation, those days should be few that England would give me bread. And I fear that, when all is done, I shall be driven to that end; for I cannot abide the disdainful hatred of those, of whom not only I thought I might have craved kindness, but also to whom God hath been by me more liberal than they be thankful. But so must men declare themselves. Affections does trouble me at this present; yet I doubt not to overcome by him, who will not leave comfortless his afflicted to the end: whose omnipotent Spirit rest with you. Amen."\*

He refers to the same disagreeable affair in another letter written about the end of this year. After mentioning the bad state of his health, which had been greatly increased by distress of mind, he adds, "It will be after the 12th day before I can be at Berwick; and almost I am determined not to come at all. Ye know the cause. God be more merciful unto some, than they are equitable unto me in judgment. The testimony of my conscience absolves me, before his face who looks not upon the presence of man."† These extracts shew us the heart of the writer; they discover the sensibility of his temper, the keenness of his feelings, and his pride

\* MS. p. 293, 294.

† Ibid. p. 265.

and independence of spirit struggling with affection to his relations, and a sense of duty.

About the end of November, or beginning of December, he returned from the South to Newcastle. The Parliament had by this time repealed all the laws made in favour of the Reformation, and restored the Roman Catholic religion; but liberty was reserved, to such as pleased, to observe the protestant worship, until the 20th of December. After that period they were thrown out of the protection of the law, and exposed to the pains decreed against heretics. Many of the bishops and ministers were committed to prison; others had escaped beyond sea. Knox could not however prevail on himself either to flee the kingdom, or to desist from preaching. Three days after the period limited by the statute had elapsed, he says in one of his letters, "I may not answer your places of scripture, nor yet write the exposition of the 6th psalm, for every day of this week must I preach, if this wicked carcase will permit."\*

His enemies, who had been defeated in their attempts to ruin him under the former government, had now access to rulers sufficiently disposed to listen to their informations. They were not dilatory in improving the opportunity. In the end of December 1553, or beginning of January, 1554, his servant was seized as he carried letters from him to his wife and mother-in-law, and the letters taken from him, with the view of finding in them some matter of accusation against the writer. As they contained merely religious advices, and exhortations to constancy in the faith which they professed (which he was prepared to avow before any court to which he might be called,) he was not alarmed at their interception. But, being aware of the uneasiness

\* MS. Letters, p. 265.



which the report would give to his friends at Berwick, he set out immediately with the design of visiting them. Notwithstanding the secrecy with which he conducted this journey, the rumour of it quickly spread; and some of his wife's relations who had joined him, persuaded that he was in imminent danger, prevailed on him, greatly against his own inclination, to relinquish his design of proceeding to Berwick, and to retire to a place of safety on the coast, from which he might escape by sea, provided the search after him was continued. From this retreat he wrote to his wife and mother, acquainting them with the reasons of his absconding, and the little prospect which he had of being able at that time to see them. His brethren (he said) had "partly by admonition, partly by tears, compelled him to obey," somewhat contrary to his own mind; for "never could he die in a more honest quarrel," than by suffering as a witness for that truth of which God had made him a messenger. Notwithstanding this state of his mind, he promised, if providence prepared the way, to "obey the voices of his brethren, and give place to the fury and rage of Satan for a time."\*

Having ascertained that the apprehensions of his friends were too well founded, and that he could not elude the pursuit of his enemies, if he remained in England, he procured a vessel, which, on the 28th of January, 1554, landed him safely at Dieppe, a port of Normandy in France.†

\* MS. p. 264.

† Ibid. p. 318. Archibald Hamilton has trumped up a ridiculous story, respecting Knox's flight from England. He says, that by teaching the unlawfulness of female government, he had excited a dangerous rebellion against Queen Mary. But the queen having marched against the rebels, defeated them with great slaughter; upon which Knox, *stained with their blood*, fled to Geneva, carrying along with him a noble and rich lady! Dialog. p. 65.

## PERIOD IV.

FROM HIS DEPARTURE OUT OF ENGLAND, ANNO 1554, TO HIS INVITATION INTO SCOTLAND, BY THE PROTESTANT NOBILITY, ANNO 1557.

PROVIDENCE, which had more important services in reserve for Knox, made use of the urgent importunities of his friends to hurry him away from the danger, to which, had he been left to the determination of his own mind, his zeal and fearlessness would have prompted him to expose himself. No sooner did he reach a foreign shore than he began to regret the course which he had been induced to take. When he thought upon his fellow-preachers, whom he had left behind him immured in dungeons, and the people lately under his charge, now scattered abroad as sheep without a shepherd, and a prey to ravening wolves, he felt an indescribable pang, and an almost irresistible desire to return and share in the hazardous but honourable conflict. Although he had only complied with the divine direction, "when they persecute you in one city, flee ye unto another," and in his own breast stood acquitted of cowardice, he found it difficult to divest his conduct of the appearance of that weakness, and was afraid it might operate as a discouragement to his brethren in England, or an inducement to them to make sinful compliances with the view of saving their lives.

On this subject we find him unbosoming himself to Mrs. Bowes, in his letters from Dieppe. "The desire that I have to hear of your continuance with

Christ Jesus, in the day of this his battle (which shortly shall end to the confusion of his proud enemies,) neither by tongue nor by pen can I express, beloved mother. Assuredly, it is such, that it vanquisheth and overcometh all remembrance and solicitude which the flesh useth to take for feeding and defence of herself. For, in every realm and nation, God will stir up some one or other to minister those things that appertain to this wretched life; and, if men will cease to do their office, yet will he send his ravens; so that in every place, perchance, I may find some fathers to my body. But, alas! where I shall find children to be begotten unto God, by the word of life, that can I not presently consider; and therefore the spiritual life of such as sometime boldly professed Christ (God knoweth,) is to my heart more dear than all the glory, riches, and honour in earth; and the falling back of such men as I hear daily to turn back to that idol again, is to me more dolorous than, I trust, the corporal death shall [be,] whenever it shall come at God's appointment. Some will ask then, Why did I flee? Assuredly I cannot tell. But of one thing I am sure, the fear of death was not the chief cause of my fleeing. I trust that one cause hath been to let me see with my corporal eyes, that all had not a true heart to Christ Jesus, that, in the day of rest and peace, bare a fair face. But my fleeing is no matter: by God's grace I may come to battle before that all the conflict be ended. And haste the time, O Lord! at thy good pleasure, that once again my tongue may yet praise thy holy name before the congregation, if it were but in the very hour of death."—"I would not bow my knee before that most abominable idol for all the torments that earthly tyrants can devise, God so assisting me, as his holy Spirit presently moveth me to write un-



feignedly. And albeit that I have, in the beginning of this battle, appeared to play the faint-hearted and feeble soldier (the cause I remit to God,) yet my prayer is, that I may be restored to the battle again. And blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, I am not left so bare without comfort, but my hope is to obtain such mercy, that, if a short end be not made of all my miseries by final death, (which to me were no small advantage,) that yet, by Him who never despiseth the sobs of the sore afflicted, I shall be so encouraged to fight, that England and Scotland shall both know, that I am ready to suffer more than either poverty or exile, for the profession of that doctrine, and that heavenly religion, whereof it has pleased his merciful providence to make me, among others, a simple soldier and witness-bearer unto men. And therefore, mother, let no fear enter into your heart, as that I, escaping the furious rage of these ravening wolves (that for our unthankfulness are lately loosed from their bands,) do repent any thing of my former fervency. No, mother; for a few sermons by me to be made within England, my heart at this hour could be content to suffer more than nature were able to sustain; as by the grace of the most mighty and most merciful God, who only is God of comfort and consolation through Christ Jesus, one day shall be known.”\*

In his present sequestered situation, he had full leisure to meditate upon the various and surprising turns of providence in his lot, during the last seven years; his call to the ministry and employment at St. Andrews, his subsequent imprisonment and release, the sphere of usefulness in which he had been placed in England, with the afflicting manner in which he was

\* MS. Letters, p. 70, 71, 107, 108.

excluded from it, and driven to seek refuge as an exile in that country to which he had formerly been carried as a prisoner. The late events seemed in a special manner to summon him to a solemn review of the manner in which he had discharged the sacred trust committed to him, as "a steward of the mysteries of God." It will throw light on his character, and may not be without use to such as occupy the same station, to exhibit the result of his reflections on this subject.

He could not, without ingratitude to Him who had called him to be his servant, deny, that his qualifications for the ministry had been in no small degree improved since he came to England; and he had the testimony of his own conscience, in addition to that of his numerous auditors, that he had not altogether neglected the gifts bestowed on him, but had exercised them with some measure of fidelity and painfulness. At the same time, he found reason for self-accusation on different grounds. Having mentioned, in one of his letters, the reiterated charge of Christ to Peter, *Feed my sheep, feed my lambs*, he exclaims, "O alas! how small is the number of pastors that obeys this commandment. But this matter will I not deplore, except that I (not speaking of others) will accuse myself that do not, I confess, the uttermost of my power in feeding the lambs and sheep of Christ. I satisfy, peradventure, many men in the small labours I take; but I satisfy not myself. I have done somewhat, but not according to my duty."\* In the discharge of private duties, he acknowledges, that shame, and the fear of incurring the malignant scandal of the world, had hindered him from visiting the ignorant and distressed, and

\* MS. Letters, p. 308, 309.

administering to them the instruction and comfort which they craved. In public ministrations, he had been deficient in fervency and fidelity, in impartiality, and in diligence. He could not charge himself with flattery, and his "rude plainness" had given offence to some; but his conscience now accused him of not having been sufficiently plain in admonishing offenders. His custom was to describe the vices of which his hearers were guilty in such colours, that they might read their own image; but being "unwilling to provoke all men against him," he restrained himself from particular applications. Though his "eye had not been much set on worldly promotion," he had sometimes been allured, by affection for friends and familiar acquaintances, to reside too long in particular places, to the neglect of others. That day he thought he had not sinned, if he had not been idle; now he was convinced that it was his duty to have considered how long he should remain in one place, and how many hungry souls were starving elsewhere. Sometimes, at the solicitation of friends, he had spared himself, and spent the time in worldly business, or in bodily recreation and exercise, when he ought to have been employed in the discharge of his official duties. "Besides these, (says he) I was assaulted, yea infected, with more gross sins; that is, my wicked nature desired the favours, the estimation, and praise of men: against which, albeit that sometimes the Spirit of God did move me to fight, and earnestly did stir me (God knoweth I lie not) to sob and lament for these imperfections; yet never ceased they to trouble me, when any occasion was offered; and so privily and craftily did they enter into my breast, that I could not perceive myself to be wounded, till vain-glory had almost got the upperhand. O Lord! be merciful to my great



offence; and deal not with me according to my great iniquity, but according to the multitude of thy mercies."\*

Such was the strict scrutiny which Knox made into his ministerial conduct. To many the offences of which he accused himself will appear slight and venial; others will perceive in them nothing worthy of blame. But they struck his mind in a very different light, in the hour of adversity and solitary meditation. If he had such reason for self-condemnation, whose labours were so abundant as to appear to us excessive, how few are there in the same station who may not say, *I do remember my faults this day.*

He did not, however, abandon himself to melancholy and unavailing complaints. One of his first cares, after arriving at Dieppe, was to employ his pen in writing suitable advices to those whom he could no longer instruct by his sermons and conversation. With this view he transmitted to England two short treatises. The one was an exposition of the sixth psalm, which he had begun to write in England, at the request of Mrs. Bowes, but had not found leisure to finish. It is an excellent practical discourse upon that portion of scripture, and will be read, with peculiar satisfaction, by those who have been trained to religion in the school of adversity. The other treatise was a large letter, addressed to those in London and other parts of England, among whom he had been employed as a preacher. The drift of it was to warn them against defection from the religion which they had professed, or giving countenance to the idolatrous worship erected among them. The conclusion is a most impressive and elo-

\* MS. Letters, p. 165—167. Admonition, p. 46—48. *ut supra.*

quent exhortation, in which he addresses their consciences, their hopes, their fears, their feelings, and adjures them by all that is sacred, and all that is dear to them, as men, as parents, and as Christians, not to start back from their good profession, and plunge themselves and their posterity into the gulph of ignorance and idolatry.”\* The reader of this letter cannot fail to be struck with its animated strain, when he reflects, that it proceeded from a forlorn exile, in a strange country, without a single acquaintance, and ignorant where he would find a place of abode or the means of subsistence.

On the last day of February, 1554,† he set out from Dieppe, like the Hebrew patriarch of old, “not knowing whither he went;”‡ and “committing his way to God,” travelled through France, and came to Switzerland. A correspondence had been kept up between some of the English Reformers and the most noted divines of the Helvetic church. The latter had already heard, with the sincerest grief, of the overthrow of the Reformation in England, and the dispersion of its friends. Upon making himself known, Knox was cordially received by them, and

\* See Note R.

† His exposition of the sixth psalm concludes with these words: -- Upon the very point of my journey, the last of February, 1553.” MS. Letters, p. 109. The reader should recollect, that in our Reformer’s time, they did not begin the year until the 25th of March; so that “February 1553,” according to the old reckoning, is “February, 1554,” according to the modern.

‡ His letter to the Faithful in London, &c. concludes thus: “From ane sore trubellit hart, upon my departure from Diep, 1553, *whither God knaweth*. In God is my trust through Jesus Chryst his sone; and thairfoir I feir not the tyrannie of man, nether yit what the Devill can invent against me. Rejoice ye faithfull: for in joy shall we meit, whair deth may not dissever us.” Ut supra, p. 157, 158.

treated with the most Christian hospitality. He spent some time in Switzerland, visiting the particular churches, and conferring with the learned men. Certain difficult questions, suggested by the present conjuncture of affairs in England, which he had revolved in his mind, he propounded to them for advice, and was confirmed in his own judgment by the coincidence of their views \*

In the beginning of May he returned to Dieppe, to receive information from England, a journey which he repeated at intervals as long as he remained on the continent. The kind reception which he had met with, and the agreeable company which he enjoyed, during his short residence in Switzerland, had helped to dissipate the cloud which hung upon his spirits when he landed in France, and to open his mind to more pleasing prospects as to the issue of the present afflicting providences. This appears from a letter written by him at this time, and addressed "To his afflicted Brethren." After discoursing of the situation of the disciples of Christ, during the time that he lay in the grave, and the sudden transition which they experienced, from the depth of sorrow to the summit of joy, upon the re-appearance of their master, he adds: "The remembrance thereof is unto my heart great matter of consolation. For yet my good hope is, that one day or other, Christ Jesus, that now is crucified in England, shall rise again, in despite of his enemies, and shall appear to his weak and sore troubled disciples (for yet some he hath in that wretched and miser-

\* In a letter, dated Dieppe, May 10, 1554, he says: "My awne estait in this. Since the 28 of Januar [counting from the time he came to France] I have travellit throughout all the congregationis of Helvetia, and has reasonit with all the pastoris and many other excellentlie larnit men, upon sic matters as now I cannot comit to wrytting." MS. Letters, p. 318.



able realm;) to whom he shall say, *Peace be unto you: it is I; be not afraid.*”\*

His spirit was also refreshed, at this time, by the information which he received of the constancy with which his mother-in-law adhered to the protestant faith. It appears that her husband had expected that she and the rest of her family had consciences equally accommodating with his own. It was not until she had evinced, in the most determined manner, her resolution to forsake friends and native country, rather than sacrifice her religion, that she was released from his importunities to comply with the Roman Catholic religion.† Before he went to Switzerland, Knox had signified his intention, if his life was spared, of visiting his friends at Berwick.‡ When he returned to Dieppe, he had not relinquished the thoughts of this enterprise.§ His friends, by their letters, would, it is likely, dissuade him from this; and, after cool consideration, he resolved to postpone an attempt, by which he must have risked his life, without any prospect of doing good.||

Wherefore, setting out again from Dieppe, he repaired to Geneva. It was on this occasion that he first became personally acquainted with the celebrated Calvin, and formed that intimate friendship which subsisted between them till the death of the latter, in 1564. They were nearly of the same age; and there was a striking similarity in their sentiments, and in the prominent features of their character. The Genevan Reformer was highly pleased with the piety and talents of Knox, who, in his turn, entertained a greater esteem and deference for Calvin than for any other of the Reformers. As Geneva was an eligible situation for prosecuting study, and he

\* MS. Letters, p. 312—315.

† Ibid. p. 311.

‡ Ibid. p. 106. § Ibid. p. 319.

|| Ibid. p. 310.

approved much of the religious order established in it, he resolved to make that city the ordinary place of his residence during the continuance of his exile.

But no prospect of personal safety or accommodation could banish from his mind the thoughts of his persecuted brethren. In the month of July he undertook another journey to Dieppe, to inform himself accurately of their situation, and learn if he could do any thing for their comfort.\* On this occasion he received tidings, which tore open those wounds which had begun to close. The severities used against the protestants of England daily increased; and, what was still more afflicting to him, many of those who had embraced the truth under his ministry had been induced to recant, and go over to popery. In the agony of his spirit he wrote to them, setting before them the destruction to which they exposed their immortal souls by such cowardly desertion, and earnestly calling them to repent.† Under his present impressions, he repeated his former admonitions to his mother-in-law, including his wife; over whose religious constancy he was tenderly jea-

\* One of his letters to Mrs. Bowes, is dated "At Deip, the 20 of July, 1554, after I had visitit Geneva and uther partis, and returnit to Deip to learn the estait of Ingland and Scotland." MS. Letters. p. 255, 256. This is the letter which was published by Knox, along with his answer to Tyrie, in 1572, after the death of Mrs. Bowes.

† In the letter mentioned in the last note, he refers his mother-in-law to "a generall letter writtin (says he) be me in greit anguiss of hart to the congregationis of whome I heir say a greit part, under pretence that thai may keip faith secreteit in the hart, and yet do as idolaters do, beginnis now to fall befor that idoll. But O alas! blindit and desaivit ar thai; as thai sall knaw in the Lordis visitatioun, whilk, sa assuredlie as our God liveth, shall shortlie aprehend thai backstarteris amangis the middis of idolateris." MS. Letters, p. 252. On the margin of the printed copy is this note. "Frequent letters written by Johne Knox to declina from idolatrie."

lous. “ By pen will I write (because the bodies are put asunder to meet again at God’s pleasure) that which, by mouth, and face to face, ye have heard, That if man or angel labour to bring you back from the confession that once you have given, let them in that behalf be accursed. If any trouble you above measure, whether they be magistrates or carnal friends, they shall bear their just condemnation, unless they speedily repent. But now, mother, comfort you my heart (God grant ye may) in this my great affliction and dolorous pilgrimage; continue stoutly to the end, and bow you never before that idol, and so will the rest of worldly troubles be unto me more tolerable. With my own heart I oft commune, yea, and, as it were, comforting myself, I appear to triumph, that God shall never suffer you to fall in that rebuke. Sure I am that both ye would fear and eshame to commit that abomination in my presence, who am but a wretched man, subject to sin and misery like to yourself. But, O mother! though no earthly creature should be offended with you, yet fear ye the presence and offence of Him, who, present in all places, searcheth the very heart and reins, whose indignation, once kindled against the inobedient (and no sin more inflameth his wrath than idolatry doth,) no creature in heaven nor in earth is able to appease.”\*

He was in this state of mind when he composed the *Admonition to England*, which was published about the end of this year. Those who have censured him, as indulging in an excessive vehemence of spirit and bitterness of language, usually refer to this tract in support of the charge.† It is true that he there paints the persecuting papists in the

\* MS. Letters, p. 251—253.

† Collier (*Eccles. History*, ii. 441.) *cum multis aliis.*



blackest colours, and holds them up as objects of human execration and divine vengeance. I do not stop here to inquire whether he was chargeable with transgressing the bounds of moderation prescribed by religion and the gospel, in the expression of his indignation and zeal; or whether the censures pronounced by his accusers, and the principles upon which they proceed, do not involve a condemnation of the temper and language of the most righteous men mentioned in scripture, and even of our Saviour himself. But I ask, Is there no apology for his severity to be found in the characters of the persons against whom he wrote, and in the state of his own feelings, lacerated, not by personal sufferings, but by sympathy with his suffering brethren, who were driven into prisons by their unnatural countrymen, "as sheep for the slaughter," to be brought forth and barbarously immolated to appease the Roman Moloch? Who could suppress indignation in speaking of the conduct of men, who, having raised themselves to honour and affluence by the warmest professions of friendship to the reformed religion under the preceding reign, now abetted the most violent proceedings against their former brethren and benefactors? What terms were too strong for stigmatizing the execrable system of persecution coolly projected by the dissembling, vindictive GARDINER, the brutal barbarity of the bloody BONNER, or the unrelenting, insatiable cruelty of MARY, who, having extinguished the feelings of humanity, and divested herself of the tenderness which characterizes her sex, issued orders for the murder of her subjects, until her own husband, bigotted and unfeeling as he was, turned with disgust from the spectacle, and continued to urge to fresh severities the willing instruments of her cruelty, after

they were sated with blood!

On such a theme 'tis impious to be calm;

Passion is reason, transport temper here.—YOUNG.

“Oppression makes a wise man mad:” but (to use the words of a modern orator,\* with a more just application) “the distemper is still the *madness* of the *wise*, which is better than the *sobriety* of *fools*. Their cry is the voice of sacred misery, exalted, not into wild raving, but into the sanctified phrenzy of prophecy and inspiration.”

Knox returned to Geneva, and applied himself to study with all the ardour of youth, although his age now bordered upon fifty. It was about this time that he seems to have made some proficiency in the knowledge of the Hebrew language, which he had no opportunity of acquiring in early life.† It is natural to enquire, by what funds he was supported during his exile. However much inclined his mother-in-law was to relieve his necessities, the disposition of her husband seems to have put it greatly out of her power. Any small sum which his friends had advanced to him, before his sudden departure from England, was exhausted; and he was at this time very much straitened for money. Being unwilling to burden strangers, he looked for assistance to the voluntary contributions of those among whom he had laboured. In a letter to Mrs. Bowes, he says, “My own estate I cannot well declare; but God shall guide the footsteps of him that is wilsome, and will feed him in trouble that never greatly solicited for the world. If any collection might be made among the faithful. it were no shame for me to receive that which Paul refused not in the time of his trouble. But all I remit to His providence, that ever careth for his own.”‡ I find from his letters, that remittances

\* Mr. Burke.    † MS. Letters, p. 322.    ‡ Ibid. p. 356.

were made to him by particular friends, both in England and Scotland, during his residence on the continent.\*

In the mean time, the persecution growing hot in England, great numbers of the protestants made their escape, and sought refuge in foreign countries. Before the close of the year 1554, it was computed that there were no fewer than eight hundred learned Englishmen, besides others of different conditions, on the continent. The foreign reformed churches exhibited, on this occasion, an amiable proof of the spirit of their religion, and amply recompensed the kindness which many foreigners had experienced in England, during the reign of Edward. They emulated one another in exertions to accommodate, and alleviate the sufferings of the unfortunate refugees who were dispersed among them.† The principal places in which they obtained settlements, were Zurich, Basle, Geneva, Arrow, Embden, Wezel, Strasburgh, Daysburg, and Frankfort.

*Frankfort on the Maine* was a rich imperial city of Germany, which, at an early period, had embraced the Reformation, and befriended protestant refugees from all countries, as far as this could be done without coming to an open breach with the Emperor, who watched their conduct with a jealous eye. There was already a church of French protestants in that city. On the 14th of July, 1554, the English exiles, who had come to Frankfort, obtained from the magistrates the joint use of the place of worship al-

\* MS. Letters, 244, 273.

† It is painful to observe, that many of the *Lutherans*, at this time, disgraced themselves by their illiberal inhospitality, refusing, in different instances, to admit those who fled from England into their harbours and towns; because they differed from them in their sentiments on the sacramental controversy. Melch. Adami Vitæ Zuer. Theolog. p. 20. Strype's Cranmer, p. 353, 361.



lotted to the French, with liberty to perform religious service in their own language.\* This was granted upon the condition, of their conforming as nearly as possible to the form of worship used by the French church, a prudent precaution which their political circumstances dictated. The offer was gratefully accepted by the English, who came to an unanimous agreement, that in using the English liturgy they would omit the litany, the audible responses, the surplice, with other ceremonies, which, “in those reformed churches would seem more than strange,” or which were “superstitious and superfluous.” Having settled this point in the most harmonious manner, elected a pastor and deacons, *pro tempore*, and agreed upon some rules for discipline, they wrote a circular letter to their brethren scattered in different places, inviting them to Frankfort, to share with them in their accommodations, and unite their prayers for the afflicted church of England. The exiles at Strasburgh, in their reply, recommended to them certain persons as most fit for the offices of superintendent and pastors; a recommendation not asked by the congregation at Frankfort, who did not think a superintendent requisite in their situation, and meant to have two or three pastors of equal authority. They, accordingly, proceeded to make choice of three, one of whom was Knox, who received information of his election, by the following letter from the congregation delivered to him in Geneva.

“We have received letters from oure brethern off

\* The English exiles were greatly indebted for this favour to the friendly services of the French pastors. One of these was *Valerendus Polanus*, a native of Flanders, and minister of a congregation in Strasburgh. During the confusions in Germany occasioned by the interim, he had gone to England, and along with his congregation, obtained a settlement at Glastonbury. Upon the death of Edward, he went to Frankfort. Strype’s Memoir. of the Reformat. ii. 242.

Strausbrough, but not in suche sorte and ample wise as we looked for; whereuppon we assembled together in the H. Goaste (we hope,) and have, with one voice and consent, chosen yow so particulerly to be one off the ministers off our congregation here, to preache unto us the moste lively worde off God, according to the gift that God hathe geven yow; for as muche as we have here, throughe the mercifull goodnes off God, a churche to be congregated together in the name of Christe, and be all of one body, and also beinge of one nation, tonge, and countrie. And at this presente, having need of such a one as yow, we do desier yow and also require yow, in the name of God, not to deny us, nor to refuse theis oure requests; but that yow will aide, helpe, and assiste us with your presence in this our good and godlie enterprise, which we have taken in hand, to the glorie off God and the profit off his congregation, and the poore sheepe off Christ dispersed abroad, who, withe your and like presences, woulde come hither and be of one folde, where as nowe they wander abroad as loste sheepe withowte anie gide. We mistruste not but that yow will joiffully accepte this callinge. Fare ye well from Franckford this 24. of September.”\*

Knox was averse to undertake this charge, either

\* This letter was subscribed by “John Bale,” and other twenty. See “A Brieff Discours off the troubles begonne at Franckford in Germany, Anno Domini, 1554. Abowte the booke off Common Prayer, &c.” p. xix. xx. Printed Anno 1575. To save the repetition of quotation, I may mention, once for all, that, when no other authority is given, my account of the transactions at Frankfort is taken from this book. It was reprinted about the year 1540; but I have made use of the first edition. The writer was a nonconformist; but his narrative was allowed, by the opposite party, to be correct,

from a desire to continue his studies at Geneva, or from an apprehension of difficulties which he might meet with at Frankfort. By the persuasion of Calvin,\* he was, however, induced to comply with the call, and repairing to Frankfort in the month of November, commenced his ministry with the universal consent and approbation of the congregation. But previous to his arrival, the harmony, which at first subsisted among that people, had been disturbed. In reply to their circular letter, the exiles at Zurich had signified that they would not come to Frankfort, unless they obtained security that the church there would "use the same order of service concerning religion, which was, in England, last set forth by King Edward;" for they were fully determined "to admit and use no other." By varying from that service, they alleged, they would give occasion to their adversaries to charge their religion with imperfection and mutability, and condemn their brethren in England, who were now sealing it with their blood. To these representations the brethren at Frankfort replied, that they had obtained the liberty of a place of worship, upon condition of their accommodating as much as possible to the form used by the French church; that there were a number of things in the English service-book which would be offensive to the protestants among whom they resided, and had been occasion of scruple to conscientious men at home; that, by the variations which they had introduced, no reflection was made upon the ordinances of their late sovereign and his council, who had themselves altered many things, and had resolved on greater alterations, without thinking that they gave any handle to their popish adversaries; far less did they detract from the credit

\* Knox. *Historie*, p. 85.



of the martyrs, who, they were persuaded, shed their blood in confirmation of more important things than mutable ceremonies of human appointment. This answer did not satisfy the learned men at Zurich, though it induced them to lower their tone; not contented with forming their own resolution, they instigated their brethren at Strasburgh to urge the same request, and, by letters and messengers, fomented dissention in the congregation at Frankfurt.

When Knox arrived, he found that the seeds of animosity had already sprung up among them. From his sentiments respecting the English service-book, we may be sure that the eagerness manifested by those who wished to impose it was very displeasing to him. But so sensible was he of the pernicious and discreditable effects of division among brethren exiled for the same faith, that he resolved to act as a moderator between the two parties, and to avoid, as far as possible, every thing which tended to widen or continue the breach. Accordingly, when the congregation had agreed to the order of the Genevan church,\* and requested him to proceed to administer the communion according to it, (although, in his judgment, he approved of that order), he declined to use it, until their learned brethren in other places were consulted. At the same time, he signified that he had not freedom to administer the sacraments agreeably to the English liturgy. If he could not be allowed to perform this service in a manner more consonant to scripture, he requested that some other might be employed in this duty, and he would willingly confine himself to preaching; if neither

\* This was the order of worship used by the church of Geneva, of which Calvin was minister: It had been lately translated into English.

of these could be granted, he besought them to release him altogether from his charge. To this last request they would by no means consent.

Fearing that if these differences were not speedily accommodated, they would burst into a flame of contention, Knox, along with some others, was employed to draw up a summary of the Book of Common Prayer, and having translated it into Latin, to send it to Calvin for his opinion and advice. Calvin replied in a letter, dated Jan. 20, 1555; he lamented the unseemly contentions which prevailed among them; signified, that he had always recommended moderation respecting external ceremonies, but could not but condemn the obstinacy of those who would consent to no change of old customs; in the liturgy of England he had found many *tolerable fooleries*, (*tolerabiles ineptias*,) he meant things which might be tolerated at the beginning of a reformation, but ought afterwards to be removed; he thought that the present condition of the English warranted them to attempt this, and to agree upon an order more conducive to edification; and, for his part, he could not understand what those meant who discovered such fondness for popish dregs.\*

This letter, being read to the congregation, had a great effect in repressing the keenness of such as had urged the unlimited use of the liturgy; and a committee was appointed to draw up a form which might accommodate all differences.† When this

\* Calvini Epist. p. 98. apud Oper. tom. ix. Amstælodami. Anno 1667.

† Previous to the appointment of this committee, Knox, Whittingham, Fox, Gilby, and T. Cole, had composed (what was afterwards called) *The Order of Geneva*; but it did not meet the views of all concerned. This was different from the order of the Genevan church, mentioned in the preceding page. It was so called, because first used by the English church at Geneva; and it continued

committee met, Knox told them that he was convinced it was necessary for one of the parties to relent before they could come to an amicable settlement; he would therefore state (he said) what he judged most proper, and having exonerated himself, would allow them without opposition to determine as they should answer to God and the church. They accordingly agreed upon a form of worship, in which some things were taken from the English liturgy, and others added, which were thought suitable to their circumstances. This was to continue in force until the end of April next; if any dispute arose in the interval, it was to be referred to five of the most celebrated foreign divines. This agreement was subscribed by all the members of the congregation; thanks were publicly returned to God for the restoration of harmony; and the communion was received as a pledge of union, and the burial of all past offences.

But this agreement was soon after violated, and the peace of that unhappy congregation again broken, in the most wanton and scandalous manner. On the 13th of March, Dr. Cox, who had been preceptor to Edward VI. came from England to Frankfurt, with some others in his company. The first day that they attended public worship after their arrival, they broke through the established order, by answering aloud after the minister in the time of divine service. Being admonished by some of the elders to refrain from that practice, they insolently replied, "That they would do as they had done in England; and they would have the face of an English church."\* On the following Sabbath, one of to be used in the church of Scotland, for a considerable time after the establishment of the Reformation.

\* "The Lord grant it to have the face of *Christ's* church (says Knox. in an account which he drew up of these transactions :) and



the number intruded himself into the pulpit, without the consent of the pastors or the congregation, and read the litany, Cox and the other accomplices echoing the responses. This offensive behaviour was aggravated by the consideration, that some of them, before leaving England, had been guilty of compliances with popery, for which they had as yet given no satisfaction.

Such an insult upon the whole body, and outrage upon all decency and order, could not be passed over in silence. It was Knox's turn to preach on the afternoon of the last mentioned Sabbath. In the course of lecturing through *Genesis*, he had come to the narration of the behaviour of Ham to his father Noah when he lay exposed in his tent. Having discoursed from this of the infirmities of brethren which ought to be concealed, he remarked that there were other things, which, as they tended to the open dishonouring of God, and disquieting of his church, ought to be disclosed and publicly rebuked. He then reminded them of the contention which had existed in the congregation, and of the happy manner in which, after long and painful labour, it had been ended, to the joy of all, by the solemn agreement which had been that day flagrantly violated. This, he said, it became not the proudest of them to have attempted. Nothing which was destitute of a divine warrant ought to be obtruded upon any Christian church. In that book, for which some entertained such an overweening fondness, he would undertake to prove publicly, that there were things imperfect, impure, and superstitious; and, if any would go about to burden a free congregation with such things, he would not fail, as often as he occurred therefore I would have had it agreeable, in outward rites and ceremonies, with Christian churches reformed." *Cald. MS. L. 219.*

pied that place, (provided his text afforded occasion,) to oppose their design. As he had been forced to enter upon that subject, he would say further, that, in his judgment, slackness in reforming religion, when time and opportunity were granted, was one cause of the divine displeasure against England. He adverted to the trouble which Bishop Hooper had suffered for refusing some of the ceremonies, to the want of discipline, and to the well known fact that three, four, or five benefices had been occupied by one man, to the depriving of the flock of Christ of their necessary food.

This free reprimand was much stomached by those against whom it was levelled, especially by such as had held pluralities in England, who complained that the preacher had slandered their mother church. Loud complaints being made against the sermon, a special meeting was appointed to consider them. At this meeting, instead of prosecuting their complaints, the friends of the liturgy began with insisting, that Dr. Cox and his friends should be admitted to a vote. This was resisted by the great majority; because they had not yet subscribed the discipline of the church, nor given satisfaction for their late disorderly conduct, and for their sinful compliances in England. The behaviour of our countryman, on this occasion, was more remarkable for moderation and magnanimity, than for prudence. Although aware of their hostility to himself, and that they sought admission chiefly to overpower him by numbers, he was so confident of the justice of his cause, and anxious to remove prejudices, that he entreated and prevailed with the meeting to yield, and admit them presently to a vote.\* This dis-

\* Knox's words on the above occasion were, "I know that your earnest desire to be received at this instant within the number of the congregation, is, that by the multitude of your voices ye

interestedness was thrown away on the opposite party : no sooner were they admitted, and had obtained a majority of voices, than Cox (although he had no authority in the congregation) discharged Knox from preaching, and from all interference in the congregational affairs.\*

The great body of the congregation were indignant at these proceedings ; and there was some reason to fear that their mutual animosity would break out into some disgraceful disorder. A representation of the circumstances having been made to the magistrates of Frankfort, they, after in vain recommending a private accommodation, issued an order that the congregation should conform exactly to the worship used by the French church, as nothing but confusion had ensued since they departed from it ; if this was not complied with, they threatened to shut up their place of worship. To this peremptory injunction the Coxian faction pretended a cheerful submission, while they clandestinely concerted measures for obtaining its revocation, and enforcing their favourite liturgy upon their reclaiming brethren.

Perceiving the influence which our countryman had in the congregation, and despairing to carry their plan into execution, as long as he was among them, they determined in the first place to get rid of him. To accomplish this, they had recourse to one of the basest and most unchristian arts ever employed to ruin an adversary. Two of them, in con-

may overthrow my cause. Howbeit the matter is so evident, that ye shall not be able to do it. I fear not your judgment ; and therefore do require that ye might be admitted." Cald. MS. i. 252.

\* Collier (ii. 395.) says that Knox manifested in this instance, "a surprising compliance." But it appears, even from the account given by that historian, that in the whole of the Frankfort affair, he displayed the greatest moderation and forbearance, while the conduct of his opponents was marked throughout with violence and want of charity.



currence with others, went privately to the magistrates, and accused Knox of HIGH TREASON against the Emperor of Germany, his son Philip, and Queen Mary of England; putting into their hands a copy of a book which he had lately published, in which the passages upon which the charge was founded were marked! "O Lord God! (says Knox when narrating this step) open their hearts to see their wickedness; and forgive them, for thy manifold mercies. And I forgive them, O Lord, from the bottom of mine heart. But that thy message sent by my mouth may not be slandered, I am compelled to declare the cause of my departing, and to utter their follies, to their amendment, I trust, and the example of others, who in the same banishment can have so cruel hearts as to persecute their brethren."\* The book which the accusers left with the magistrates was his *Admonition to England*; and the passage upon which they principally fixed, as substantiating the charge of treason against the Emperor, was the following, originally spoken to the inhabi-

\* Cald. MS. i. 254. Knox, upon his return to Geneva, committed to writing an account of the reasons of his retiring from Frankfort. He intended to have published it in his vindication; but upon mature deliberation, he resolved to suppress it, and leave his own character to suffer, rather than expose his brethren and the common cause in which they were engaged. His narrative has been preserved by Calderwood, and has furnished me with several facts. It contains the names of the persons who accused him to the senate of Frankfort, with their advisers; but I have omitted them, after the example of Knox, in the notice which he has taken of the affair, in his *Historie of the Reformation*, p. 85.

Mr. Strype has not discovered his usual impartiality or accuracy in his short account of this affair. He says that Knox had "published some *dangerous* principles about *government*," and that the informers "thought it fit for their own security to make an open complaint against him." *Memor. of the Reformat.* iii. 212. Even Collier himself does not pretend such an excuse for the actors.

tants of Amersham in Buckinghamshire, on occasion of the rumoured marriage of Queen Mary with Philip, the son and heir of Charles V. a match, which was at that time dreaded even by many of the English Catholics. "O England, England, if thou obstinately wilt return into Egypt, that is, if thou contract marriage, confederacy, or league with such princes as do maintain and advance idolatry; such as the Emperor (who is no less enemy to Christ than ever was Nero :) if for the pleasure of such princes thou return to thy old abominations before used under papistry, then assuredly, O England, thou shalt be plagued and brought to desolation, by the means of those whose favour thou seekest." The other passages related to the cruelty of Queen Mary of England.\*

The magistrates, in consequence of this accusation, sent for *Whittingham*, a respectable member of the English congregation, and interrogated him concerning Knox's character. He told them that he was "a learned, grave, and godly man." They then acquainted him with the serious accusation which had been lodged against him by some of his countrymen, and, giving him the book, charged him, *sub pœna pacis*, to bring them an exact Latin translation of the passages which were marked. This being done, they commanded Knox to desist from preaching, until their pleasure should be known. "Yet, (says he, in his narrative,) being desirous to hear others, I went to the church next day, not thinking that my company would have offended any. But as soon as my accusers saw me, they, with — and others, departed from the sermon; some of them protesting with great vehemence, that they would not tarry where I was."† The magistrates were extremely

\* See Note S.

† See Ibid.

perplexed how to act in this delicate business: on the one hand, they were satisfied of the malice of Knox's accusers; on the other, they were afraid that information of the charge would be conveyed to the Emperor's Council, which sat at Augs-burgh, and that they might be obliged to deliver up the accused to them, or to the Queen of England. In this dilemma, they desired Whittingham to advise his friend privately, to retire of his own accord from Frankfort. At the same time, they did not dissemble their detestation of the unnatural conduct of the informers, who, waiting upon them to know the result of their deliberations, were dismissed from their presence with frowns. ✓

On the 25th of March, Knox delivered a very consolatory discourse to about fifty members of the congregation, who assembled at his lodgings in the evening. Next day they accompanied him some miles on his journey from Frankfort, and, with heavy hearts and many tears, committed him to God, and took their leave.

No sooner was Knox gone, than Cox, who had privately concerted the plan with Dr. Glauberg, a civilian, and nephew of the chief magistrate, procured an order from the Senate for the unlimited use of the English liturgy, by means of the false representation that it was now universally acceptable to the congregation. The next step was the abrogation of the discipline, and then the appointment of a bishop, or superintendent over the pastors. Having accomplished these important improvements, they could now boast that they had "the face of an English church." Yes! they could now raise their heads above all the reformed churches who had the honour of entertaining them; who, though they might have all the office-bearers and ordinances instituted by Christ, had neither bishop, nor litany, nor sur-



plice ! They could now lift up their faces in the presence of the church of Rome herself, and claim — But let me not forget, that the men of whom I write were at this time suffering exile for the protestant religion, and that they really detested the body of popery, though childishly and superstitiously attached to its attire, and gestures, and language.

The sequel of the transactions, in the English congregation at Frankfort, does not properly belong to this memoir. I shall only add, that, after some ineffectual attempts to obtain satisfaction for the breach of the church's peace, and the injurious treatment of their minister, a considerable number of the members left the city ; some of them, as Fox the celebrated martyrologist, repairing to Basil, the greater part to Geneva, where they obtained a place of worship, and lived in great harmony and love, until the storm of persecution in England blew over, at the death of Queen Mary ; while those who remained at Frankfort, as if to expiate their offence against Knox, continued a prey to endless contention. Cox and his learned colleagues, having accomplished their favourite object, soon left them to compose the strife which they had excited, and provided themselves elsewhere with a less expensive situation for carrying on their studies.\*

\* Cox was afterwards made to feel a little of the galling yoke which he strove to impose on his brethren. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, that stately princess, still fonder of pompous and popish equipage than her clergy, kept a *Crucifix* in her chapel, and ordered her chaplains to perform divine service before it. Dr. Cox was the only one of the refugees who complied with this, but his conscience afterwards remonstrating against it, he wrote a letter to the Queen requesting to be excused from continuing the practice. In this letter it is observable, that he employs the great argument which Knox had used against other ceremonies, while he prostrates himself before his haughty mistress with a submission to which our Reformer would never have stooped. “I ought, (says he) to do nothing touching

I have been the more minute in the detail of these transactions, not only because of the share which the subject of this memoir had in them, but because they throw light upon the controversy between the conformists and non-conformists, which runs through the succeeding period of the ecclesiastical history of England. "The troubles at Frankfort" present, in miniature, a striking picture of that contentious scene which was afterwards exhibited on a larger scale in the mother-country. The issue of that affair augured ill as to the prospect of an amicable adjustment of the litigated points. It had been usual to urge conformity to the obnoxious ceremonies, from the respect due to the authority by which they were enjoined. But here there was no authority enjoining them, but rather the contrary. If they were urged with such intolerant importunity in a place where the laws and customs were repugnant to them, what was to be expected in England, where law and custom were on their side? The divines, who were advanced in the church at the accession of Elizabeth, professed that they desired the removal of those grounds of strife, but could not obtain it from the Queen: and I am disposed to give many of them credit for the sincerity of their pro-

religion, which may appear doubtful whether it pleaseth God or not; for our religion ought to be certain, and grounded upon God's word and will.—Tender my sute, I beseech you, *in visceribus Jesu Christi*, my dear Sovereign, and most gracious Queen Elizabeth." Burnet, ii. Append. 294. The *Crucifix* was removed at this time, but again introduced about 1570. Strype's Parker, p. 310. Dr. Cox afterward fell under the displeasure of his "dear Sovereign," for maintaining rather stiffly some of the revenues of his bishoprick. Strype's Annals, ii. 579. It is but justice, however, to this learned man to say, that I do not find him taking a very active part against the non-conformists, after his return to England: he even made some attempts for the removal of the obnoxious ceremonies.

fessions. But as they shewed themselves so stiff and unyielding when the matter was wholly in their own power; as some of them were so eager in wreathing a yoke about the consciences of their brethren, that they urged reluctant magistrates to rivet it; is it any wonder that their applications for relief were cold and ineffectual, when made to rulers who were disposed to make the yoke still more severe, and to "chastise with scorpions those whom they had chastised with whips?" I repeat it; when I consider the transactions at Frankfort, I am not surprised at the defeating of every subsequent attempt to advance the Reformation in England, or to procure relief to those who scrupled to yield conformity to some of the ecclesiastical laws. I know it is pleaded, that the things complained of are matters of indifference, not prohibited in scripture, not imposed as essential to religion, or necessary to salvation, matters that can affect no well informed conscience; and that such as refuse them, when enacted by authority, are influenced by unreasonable scrupulosity, conceited, pragmatical, opinionative, and what not. This has been the usual language of a ruling party, when imposing upon the consciences of the minority. But not to urge here the danger of allowing to any class of rulers, civil or ecclesiastical, a power of enjoining indifferent things in religion; nor the undeniable fact, that the burdensome system of ceremonial observances, by which religion was corrupted under the papacy, was gradually introduced under these and similar pretexts; nor that the things in question, when complexly and formally considered, are not really matters of indifference; not to insist at present, I say, upon these topics, the answer to the above plea is short and decisive. "These things appear matters of conscience and importance to the scruplers: you say they are matters of indifference.



Why then violate the sacred peace of the church, and perpetuate division; why silence, deprive, harass, and starve men of acknowledged learning and piety, and drive from communion a sober and devout people; why torture their consciences, and endanger their souls by the imposition of things which, in your judgment, are indifferent, not necessary, and unworthy to become subjects of contention?"

Dic ———, et eris mihi magnus Apollo.

Upon retiring from Frankfort, Knox went directly to Geneva. He was cordially welcomed back by Calvin. As his advice had great weight in disposing Knox to comply with the invitation from Frankfort, he felt much hurt at the treatment which had obliged him to leave it. In reply to an apologetic epistle which he received from Dr. Cox, Calvin, although he restrained himself from saying any thing which might revive or increase the flame, could not conceal his opinion, that Knox had been used in an unbrotherly, unchristian manner, and that it would have been better for the accuser to have remained at home, than to have brought a fire-brand into a foreign country to inflame a peaceable society.\*

It appeared from the event, that providence had disengaged Knox from his late charge, to employ him on a more important service. From the time that he was carried prisoner into France, he had never lost sight of Scotland, nor relinquished the

\* Calvini Epistolæ, p. 98. ut supra. This letter is addressed "*Cnoxo*, (by mistake of the publisher, instead of *Coxo*,) et Gregalibus. Pridie Idus Junii, 1555." This misnomer, in the address, has misled a well-informed writer of a Life of Knox, in the *Religious Monitor*, vol. v. p. 197. Knox was at Geneva when Calvin wrote that letter.

hope of again preaching in his native country. His constant employment, during the five years which he spent in England, occupied his mind, and lessened the regret which he felt, at seeing the great object of his desire apparently at as great a distance as ever. Upon leaving England, his attention was more particularly directed to his native country; and, soon after returning from Frankfort, he was informed that matters began to assume a more favourable appearance there than they had worn for a number of years. After the surrender of the Castle of St. Andrews, and the banishment of the protestants who had taken refuge in it, an irrecoverable blow seemed to have been given to the reformed cause in Scotland. The clergy triumphed in their victory, and flattered themselves that they had stifled the voice of opposition.\* There were still many protestants in the kingdom; but they satisfied themselves with retaining their sentiments in secret, without exposing their lives to certain destruction by avowing them, or exciting the suspicions of their enemies by private conventicles. An event which threatened the extinction of the Reformation in Britain, proved the means of reviving it in Scotland. Several of those who were driven from England by the persecution of Mary, took refuge in this country, and were overlooked, in consequence of the security into which the Scottish clergy had been lulled by success. Travelling from place to place, they instructed many, and fanned the latent zeal of those who had formerly received the knowledge of the truth.

\* These lines were commonly used at that time.

Priestis, content you now,  
Priestis, content you now,  
For Normond and his companie  
Hes fillit the gallayis fow.

*William Harlow*, whose zeal and knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel compensated for the defects of his education,\* was the first preacher who came. After him arrived *John Willock*, in summer 1555, being charged with a commission from the Duchess of Embden to the Queen Regent. Willock became afterwards the chief co-adjutor of Knox, who entertained the highest esteem and affection for him. The union of their talents and peculiar qualities was of great advantage to the Reformation. Willock was not inferior to Knox in learning; and although he did not equal him in intrepidity and eloquence, surpassed him in affability, prudence, and address; by which means he was sometimes able to maintain his station and accomplish his purposes, when his colleague could not act with safety or success. He was a native of Ayrshire, and had worn the monastic habit; but, at an early period, he embraced the reformed opinions, and fled into England. During the severe persecution for the *six articles*, he was, in 1541, thrown into the prison of the Fleet. He was afterwards chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, the father of Lady Jane Grey; and upon the accession of Queen Mary, he retired to East Friesland.†

\* He had followed the trade of a taylor in the Canongate of Edinburgh. Episcopal writers have sometimes upbraided the Scottish church, as reformed by tradesmen and mechanics. They have, however, no reason to talk in this strain; for a sensible religious tradesman is surely more qualified for communicating religious instruction than an ignorant superstitious priest. Nay, the church of England herself, after trying those of the latter class, was glad to betake herself to the former. *Strype's Annals*, i. 176, 177. *William Harlow* received deacons orders from the English church, and so was no layman. *Cald. MS.* i. 256.

† Fox, 1099. Spottiswood, 93. *Smetoni Respons.* ad A. Ham-



Although Knox did not know what it was to fear danger, and was little accustomed to consult his personal ease, when he had the prospect of being useful in his Master's service, none of his enterprises were undertaken rashly, and without serious deliberation upon the call which he had to engage in them. On the present occasion, he felt at first averse to a journey into Scotland, notwithstanding some encouraging circumstances in the intelligence which he had received from that quarter. He had been so much tossed about of late, that he felt a peculiar relish in the learned leisure which he at present enjoyed, and was desirous to prolong. His anxiety to see his wife, after an absence of nearly two years, and the importunity with which his mother-in-law, in her letters, urged him to visit them, determined him at last to undertake the journey.\* Setting out from Geneva in the month of August, 1555, he came to Dieppe, and, sailing from that port, landed on the East coast, near the boundaries between Scotland and England, about the end of harvest.† He repaired immediately to Berwick, where he had the satisfaction of finding his wife and her mother in comfortable circumstances, enjoying the happiness of religious society with several individuals in that city, who, like themselves, had not "bowed the knee" to the established ido-

ilstonum, p. 93. Strype's Annals, ii. App. 46. Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, celebrates him in these lines.

Quid memorem quanta *Wilocus*, *Skinerus* et *Haddon*,  
*Ælmerusque* tuos ornarint luce penatos ?

O! Deus, O! quales juvenes ? Quo principe digni ?

His tua luminibus splendet domus.—

\* MS. Letters, p. 312.

† Discours of the Troubles at Franckford, p. lv. lix. Knox, *Historie*, p. 90.

latry, nor submitted to "receive the mark" of anti-christ.\*

Having remained some time with them, he set out secretly to visit the protestants in Edinburgh, intending, after a short stay, to return to Berwick. But he found employment which detained him beyond his expectation. In Edinburgh he lodged with James Syme, a respectable and religious burgess, to whose house the friends of the reformed doctrine repaired, to attend his instructions, as soon as they were informed of his arrival. Among these were John Erskine of Dun, and William Maitland, younger of Lethington, afterwards Secretary to Mary Queen of Scots. John Willock was also in Edinburgh at this time.† Those who heard him, being exceedingly gratified with his doctrine, brought their friends and acquaintances along with them, and his audiences daily increased. Being confined to a private house, he was obliged to preach to successive assemblies; and was almost unremittingly employed, by night as well as by day, in communicating instruction to persons who demanded it with extraordinary avidity. The following letter written by him to Mrs. Bowes, to excuse himself for not returning so soon as he had purposed, will convey the best idea of his employment and feelings on this occasion.

"The wayis of man ar not in his awn power. Albeit my journey toward Scotland, belovit mother, was maist contrarious to my awn judgement, befoir I did interpryse the same; yet this day I prais God for thame wha was the cause externall of my resort to theis quarteris; that is, I prais God in yow and for yow, whome hie maide the instrument to draw me frome the den of my awn eas, (you allane did draw me from the rest of quyet studie,) to contemplat

\* MS. Letters, p. 343.

† He soon after returned to Embden.

and behald the fervent thirst of oure brethrene, night and day sobbing and gronyng for the breid of lyfe. Gif I had not sene it with my eis, in my awn contry, I culd not have beleveit it! I praisit God, when I was with you, perceaving that, in the middis of Sodome, God had mo Lottis than one, and ma faithfull docthteris than tua. But the fervencie heir dioth fer exceid all utheris that I have seen. And thairfoir ye sall pacientlie bear, altho' I spend heir yet sum dayis; for depart I cannot unto sic tyme as God quenche thair thirst a litill. Yea, mother, thair fervencie doith sa ravische me, that I can not but accus and condemp my sleuthfull coldness. God grant thame thair hartis desyre; and I pray yow adverteis [me] of your estait, and of thingis that have occurit sence your last wrytting. Comfort your self in Godis promissis, and be assureit that God steiris up mo friendis than we be war of. My commendation to all in your company. I commit you to the protectioun of the omnipotent. In great haist; the 4. of November 1555. From Scotland. Your sone, Johne Knox."\*

When he arrived in Scotland, he found that the friends of the reformed doctrine, in general, continued to attend the popish worship, and even the celebration of mass; principally with the view of avoiding the scandal which they would otherwise incur. This was very disagreeable to Knox, who, in his sermons and conversation, disclosed the impiety of that service, and the danger of symbolising with it. A meeting being appointed for the express purpose of discussing this question, Maitland defended the practice with all that ingenuity and learning for which he was distinguished; but his arguments were so satisfactorily answered by Knox, that he yielded

\* MS. Letters, p. 342, 343.



the point as indefensible, and agreed, with the rest of his brethren, to abstain for the future from such temporizing conduct. Thus was a formal separation made from the popish church in Scotland, which may justly be regarded as an important step in the Reformation.\*

Mr. Erskine prevailed on Knox to accompany him to his family seat of Dun, in Angus, where he continued a month, preaching every day. The principal persons in that neighbourhood attended his sermons. After he returned to the South, he resided for the most part in Calder-house, with Sir James Sandilands.† Here he was attended by Lord Lorn, (afterwards Earl of Argyle,) the Master of Mar, (afterwards Earl of Mar,) and Lord James Stewart, natural son of James V. and prior of St Andrews, (afterwards Earl of Murray;) the two last of whom Knox lived to see Regents of Scotland. These noblemen were highly pleased with the doctrine which he taught. In the beginning of the year 1556, he was conducted by Lockhart of Bar, and Campbell of Kineancleugh, to Kyle, the ancient receptacle of the Scottish Lollards, where there were a number of adherents to the reformed doctrine. He preached in the houses of Bar, Kineancleugh, Carnell, Ochil-tree, and Gadgirth, and in the town of Ayr. In several of these places, he also dispensed the sacrament

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 94.

† On the back of a picture of our Reformer, which hangs in one of the rooms of Lord Torphichen's house at Calder, is this inscription. "The Rev. John Knox.—The first sacrament of the supper given in Scotland after the Reformation, was dispensed in this hall." The commencement of the Reformation is here dated from the present visit of Knox to Scotland; for we have already seen that he administered the ordinance in the Castle of St. Andrews, Anno 1547. The account given by Knox in his *History of the Reformation*, (p. 92,) seems to imply that he performed this service in the West country, before he did it in Calder-house.

of our Lord's Supper. A little before Easter, the Earl of Glencairn sent for him to his manor of Finlayston, in which, after preaching, he also dispensed the sacrament; the Earl, his Lady, and two of their sons, with some friends, assembled for that purpose, participating of the sacred feast.\* From Finlayston he returned to Calder-house, and soon after paid a second visit to Dun, during which he preached more openly than before. The most of the gentlemen of Mearns did at this time make profession of the reformed religion, by sitting down at the Lord's table; and entered into a solemn and mutual bond, in which they renounced the popish communion, and engaged to maintain the true preaching of the gospel, according as providence should favour them with opportunities. This seems to have been the first of those religious bonds or covenants, by which the confederation of the protestants in Scotland was so frequently ratified.†

The dangers to which Knox and his friends had been accustomed, had taught them to conduct matters with such secrecy, that he had preached for a considerable time, and in different places, before the clergy knew that he was in the kingdom. Concealment was, however, impracticable after his audien-

\* The silver cups which were used on that occasion are still carefully preserved by the family of Glencairn at Finlayston. The parish of Kilmalecolm is favoured with the use of them at the time of dispensing the sacrament. "The people (says the minister in his statistical account of the parish) respect them much for their antiquity, as well as for the solemnity attending them in former and latter times." *Statistical Account of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 279. This writer thinks they had been originally candlesticks, and converted to this use on the emergent occasion: the hollow bottom reversed, forming the mouth of the cup, and the middle, after the socket was screwed out, being converted into the foot. But it is not likely, that the family of Glencairn were so destitute of silver cups, as to need to have recourse to this expedient.

† Knox, *Historie*, p. 92.

ees became so numerous. His preaching in Ayr was reported to the Court, and formed the topic of conversation in the presence of the Queen Regent. Some affirmed that the preacher was an Englishman; “a prelate not of the least pride (probably Beatoun, Archbishop of Glasgow,) said Nay; no Englishman, but it is *Knox*, that *knave*. It was my Lord’s pleasure (says Knox) so to baptize a poor man; the reason whereof, if it should be required, his rochet and mitre must stand for authority. What further liberty he used in defining things like uncertain to him, to wit, of my learning and doctrine, at this present I omit. For what hath my life and conversation been, since it hath pleased God to call me from the puddle of papistry, let my very enemies speak; and what learning I have, they may prove when they please.”\* Interest was at this time made by the bishops for his apprehension; but the Queen Regent discouraged the application.†

After his last journey to the North, the friars flocked from all quarters to the bishops, and instigated them to adopt speedy and decisive measures for checking the alarming effects of his preaching. In consequence of this, Knox was summoned to appear before a convention of the clergy, in the church of the black friars at Edinburgh, on the 15th of May. This diet he resolved to keep, and with that view came to Edinburgh, before the day appointed, accompanied by Erskine of Dun, and several other gentlemen. The clergy had never dreamed of his attendance; when apprised of his design, being afraid to bring matters to extremity, and unassured of the Regent’s decided support, they met before hand, cast the summons under pretence of some in-

\* Letter to the Lady Mary, Regent of Scotland, apud Historie, p. 417.

† Ibid. p. 416, 417.



formality, and deserted the diet against him. On the day on which he should have appeared as a pannel, Knox preached in the bishop of Dunkeld's large lodging, to a far greater audience than had before attended him in Edinburgh. During the ten following days, he preached in the same place, forenoon and afternoon; none of the clergy making the smallest attempt to disturb him. In the midst of these labours, he wrote the following hasty lines to Mrs. Bowes.

"Belovit mother, with my maist hartlie commendation in the Lord Jesus, albeit I was fullie purpoisit to have visitit yow befor this tyme, yet hath God laid impedimentis, whilk I culd not avoyd. Thay ar suche as I dout not ar to his glorie, and to the comfort of many heir. The trumpet blew the ald sound thrie dayis together, till privat houssis, of indifferent largenes, could not conteane the voce of it. God, for Chryst his Sonis sake, grant me to be myndfull, that the sobbis of my heart hath not bene in vane, nor neglectit, in the presence of his majestie. O! sweet war the death that suld follow sic fourtie dayis in Edinbrugh as heir I have had thrie. Rejose, mother; the tyme of our deliverance approacheth: for, as Sathan rageth, sa dois the grace of the Halie Spreit abound, and daylie geveth new testimonyis of the everlasting love of oure mercifull Father. I can wryt na mair to you at this present. The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with you. In haste—this Mounday. Your sone, Johne Knox."\*

About this time, the Earl Marishal, at the desire of the Earl of Glencairn, attended an evening exhortation delivered by Knox. He was so much pleased with it, that he joined with Glencairn, in urging the preacher to write a letter to the Queen Regent, which, they thought, might have the effect

\* MS. Letters, p. 352, 344.

of inclining her to protect the reformed preachers, if not also to give a favourable ear to their doctrine. With this request he was induced to comply.

As a specimen of the manner in which this letter was written, I shall give the following quotation, in the original language. “I dout not, that the rumouris, whilk haif cumin to your Grace’s earis of me, haif bene such, that (yf all reportis wer trew) I wer unworthie to live in the earth. And wonder it is, that the voces of the multitude suld not so have inflamed your Grace’s hart with just hatred of such a one as I am accuseit to be, that all acces to pitie suld have bene schute up. I am traduceit as ane heretick, accusit as a fals teacher, and seducer of the pepill, besydis uther opprobries, whilk (affirmit be men of warldlie honour and estimatioun) may easelie kendill the wrath of majestratis, whair innocencie is not knawin. But blissit be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Chryst, who, by the dew of his heavenlie grace, hath so quenched the fyre of displeasure as yit in your Grace’s hart, (whilk of lait dayis I have understaud) that Sathan is frustrat of his interpryse and purpois. Whilk is to my hart no small comfort; not so mucche (God is witnes) for any benefit that I can resave in this miserable lyfe, by protection of any earthlie creature, (for the cupe whilk it behoveth me to drink is apoyntit by the wisdom of him whois consallis ar not changeable) as that I am for that benefit whilk I am assurit your Grace sall resave; yf that ye continew in lyke moderatioun and clemencie towardis utheris, that maist unjustlie ar and sal be accusit, as that your Grace hath begon towardis me, and my most desperat cause.” An orator (he continued) might justly require of her Grace a motherly pity towards her subjects, the execution of justice upon murderers and oppressors, a heart free from avarice and partiality, a mind studious

of the public welfare, with other virtues which heathen as well as inspired writers required in rulers. But, in his opinion, it was vain to crave reformation of manners, when religion was so much corrupted. He could not propose, in the present letter, to lay open the sources, progress, and extent of those errors and corruptions which had overspread and inundated the church; but, if her majesty would grant him an opportunity and liberty of speech, he was ready to undertake this task. In the mean time, he could not refrain from calling her attention to this important subject, and pointing out to her the fallacy of some general prejudices, by which she was in danger of being deceived. She ought to beware of thinking, that the care of religion did not belong to magistrates, but was devolved wholly on the clergy; that it was a thing incredible that religion should be so universally depraved; or that true religion was to be judged of by the majority of voices, custom, the laws and determinations of men, or any thing but the infallible dictates of inspired scripture. He knew that innovations in religion were deemed hazardous; but the urgent necessity and immense magnitude of the object ought, in the present case, to swallow up the fear of danger. He was aware that a public reformation might be thought to exceed her authority as Regent; but she could not be bound to maintain idolatry and manifest abuses, nor to suffer the fury of the clergy to rage in murdering innocent men, merely because they worshipped God according to his word.

Though Knox's pen was not the most smooth nor delicate, and he often irritated by the plainness and severity of his language, the letter to the Queen Regent is far from being uncourtly. It seems to have been written with great care; and, in point of language, it may be compared with any composition



of that period, for simplicity and forcible expression.\* Its strain was well calculated for stimulating the inquiries, and confirming the resolutions of one who was impressed with a conviction of the reigning evils in the church, or who, though not resolved in judgment as to the matters in controversy, was determined to preserve moderation between the contending parties. Notwithstanding her imposing manners, the Regent was not a person of this description. The Earl of Glencairn delivered the letter into her hand; she glanced it with a careless air, and gave it to the archbishop of Glasgow, saying, *Please you my Lord, to read a pasquil.*† The report of this induced Knox, after he retired from Scotland, to publish the letter, with additions, in which he used a more pointed and severe style.‡

While he was thus employed in Scotland, he received letters from the English congregation at Geneva, stating that they had made choice of him as

\* This is more evident from the letter, in its original language, which is now before me in manuscript. In the copies of it which have been published along with his history, freedoms have been used, and the language is not a little enfeebled by the insertion of unmeaning or unnecessary expletives.

† Historie, p. 92, 425.

‡ "As charitie (says he) persuadeth me to interpret thinges doubfully spoken in the best sence, so my dutie to God, (who hath commanded me to flatter no prince in the earth) compelleth me to say, that if no more ye esteeme the admonition of God, nor the Cardinalles do the scoffing of pasquilles, then he shall shortly send you messagers, with whome ye shall not be able on that maner to jest.—I did not speak unto you, madame, by my former lettre, nether yet do I now, as Pasquillus doth to the Pope, in behalf of such as dare not utter their names; but I come, in the name of Jesus Christ, affirming, that the religion which ye maintain is damnable idolatrie: the which I offre myselve to prove by the most evident testimonies of Goddis scriptures. And, in this quarrelle, I present myself againste all the papistes within the realme, desiring none other armore but Goddis holie worde, and the libertie of my tonge." Letter, &c. apud Historie, p. 425, 426.

one of their pastors, and urging him to come and take the inspection of them.\* He judged it his duty to comply with this invitation, and began immediately to prepare for the journey. His wife and mother-in-law had by this time joined him at Edinburgh; and Mrs. Bowes, being now a widow, resolved to accompany her daughter and her husband to Geneva. Having sent them before him in a vessel to Dieppe, Knox again visited and took his leave of the brethren in the different places where he had preached. Campbell of Kineancleugh conducted him to the Earl of Argyle, and he preached for some days in Castle Campbell. Argyle, and the laird of Glenorechy urged him to remain in Scotland, but he resisted all their importunities. “If God so blessed their small beginnings (he said,) that they continued in godliness, whensoever they pleased to command him, they should find him obedient. But once he must needs visit that little flock, which the wickedness of men had compelled him to leave.” Accordingly, in the month of July, 1556, he left Scotland, and, arriving at Dieppe, proceeded with his family to Geneva.†

No sooner did the clergy understand that he had quitted the kingdom, than they in a dastardly manner, renewed the summons against him, which they had deserted during his presence, and, upon his non-compearance, passed sentence against him, adjudging his body to the flames, and his soul to damnation. As his person was out of their reach, they caused his effigy to be ignominiously burned at the cross of Edinburgh. Against this sentence, he drew up his *Appel*-

\* This congregation (which consisted of those who had withdrawn from Frankfort,) as early as September, 1555, “chose Knox and Goodman for their pastor, and Gilby requested to supplie the rome till Knox returned owte off France.” Troubles at Franckford, p. lix.

† Historie, p. 93.

lation, which he afterwards published, with a supplication and exhortation, directed to the nobility and commonalty of Scotland. It may not be improper here to subjoin his summary of the doctrine taught by him, during his late visit to Scotland, which was declared to be so execrable, and subjected the preacher to such horrible pains. He taught, that there was no other name by which men could be saved but that of Jesus, and that all reliance on the merits of any other was vain and delusive; that He, having by his one sacrifice, sanctified and reconciled to God those who should inherit the promised kingdom, all other sacrifices which men pretended to offer for sin were blasphemous; that all men ought to hate sin, which was so odious before God, that no other sacrifice could satisfy for it, except the death of his Son; that they ought to magnify their heavenly Father, who did not spare the substance of his glory, but gave him up to suffer the ignominious and cruel death of the cross for us; and that those who were washed from their former sins were bound to lead a new life, fighting against the lusts of the flesh, and studying to glorify God by good works. In conformity with the certification of his master, that he would deny and be ashamed of those who should deny and be ashamed of him and his words before a wicked generation, he further taught, that it was incumbent on those who hoped for life everlasting, to avoid idolatry, superstition, and all vain religion, in one word, every way of worship which was destitute of authority from the word of God. This doctrine he did believe so conformable to God's holy scriptures, that he thought no creature could have been so impudent as to deny any point or article of it; yet him as an heretic, and his doctrine as heretical, had the false bishops and ungodly clergy damned, pronouncing against him the sentence of death, in



testification of which, they had burned his picture : from which sentence he appealed to a lawful and general council, to be held, agreeably to ancient laws and canons : humbly requiring the nobility and commons of Scotland, until such time as these controversies were decided, to take him, and others accused and persecuted, under their protection, and to regard this his plain appellation as of no less effect, than if it had been made with greater solemnity and ceremonies.\*

The late visit of our Reformer (for so he may now be fitly designed) was of vast consequence. The foundations of that noble edifice, which he was afterwards so instrumental in rearing, were, on this occasion, properly laid. Some may be apt to blame him for relinquishing, too precipitately, an undertaking which he had so auspiciously begun. But, without pretending to ascertain the train of reflections which occurred to his own mind, we may trace, in his determination, the wise arrangement of that providence which watched over the infant Reformation, and guided the steps of the Reformer. His absence was now no less conducive to the preservation of the cause, than his presence and personal labours had lately been to its advancement. Matters were not yet ripened for a general Reformation in Scotland ; and the clergy would never have suffered so zealous and able a champion of the new doctrines to live in the country. By timely withdrawing, he not only preserved his own life and reserved his labours to a more fit opportunity, but he averted the storm of persecution from the heads of his brethren. Deprived of their teachers, their adversaries became less jealous of them ; while, in their private meetings, they continued to confirm one another in the doctrine which

\* Appellation. &c. apud Historie. p. 428.

they had received, and the seed lately sown had time to take root and to spread.

Before he took his departure, Knox was careful to give his brethren such directions as he judged most necessary for them, particularly for promoting mutual edification, when they were deprived of the benefit of pastors. Not satisfied with communicating these orally, he committed them to writing in a common letter, which he either left behind him, or sent from Dieppe, to be circulated in the different quarters where he had preached. In this letter, he warmly recommended the exercises of worship and religious instruction in every family. He advised, that those belonging to different families should meet together, if possible once every week. In these assemblies, they should begin with confession of sins, and invocation of the divine blessing. After a portion of scripture had been read, if any brother had any exhortation, interpretation, or doubt, he might speak; but this ought to be done with modesty and a desire to edify, or to be edified; "multiplication of words, perplexed interpretation, and wilfulness in reasoning" being carefully avoided. If any difficulties, which they could not solve, occurred in the course of reading or conference, he advised them to commit these to writing, before they dismissed, that they might submit them to the judgment of the learned. He signified his own readiness to give them his advice and opinion, whenever it should be required. Their assemblies ought always to be closed, as well as opened, by prayer.\* There is every reason to conclude, that these directions were punctually complied with; this letter may, therefore, be viewed as an important document regarding the state of the protestant church in

\* MS. Letters, p 352—359.

Scotland, previous the establishment of the Reformation, and shall be inserted at large in the Appendix.\*

Among his letters are several answers to questions which they had transmitted to him for advice. The questions are such as might be supposed to arise in the minds of serious persons lately made acquainted with the scripture, diffculted with particular expressions, and at a loss how to apply some of its directions to their situation. They discover an inquisitive and conscientious disposition; and at the same time, illustrate the disadvantages under which ordinary Christians labour when deprived of the assistance of learned teachers. Our Reformer's answers display an intimate acquaintance with scripture, dexterity in expounding it, with prudence in giving advice in cases of conscience, so as not to encourage a dangerous laxity on the one hand, or scrupulosity and excessive rigidity on the other.†

Knox reached Geneva before the end of harvest, and took upon him the charge of the English congregation there,‡ among whom he laboured during the two following years. This short period was the most quiet of his life. In the bosom of his own family, he experienced that soothing care to which he had hi-

\* The letter is inscribed "To his Brethren in Scotland efter hie had bene quyat amang thame;" and bears date "7. of July 1556."

† Among the questions proposed were the following: Whether the baptism administered by the popish priests was valid, and did not require repetition? Whether all the things prohibited in the decree of the apostles and elders at Jerusalem (Acts xv.) were still unlawful? Whether the prohibition of the apostle John (2d ep. v. 10.) extended to common salutation of those who taught erroneous doctrine? How were the directions of the apostle Peter respecting dress (1st ep. ch. iii. 3.) to be obeyed? In what sense is God said to repent? A specimen of our Reformer's answer shall be given in the Appendix.

‡ The congregation seem to have delayed the final settlement



therto been a stranger, and which his frequent bodily ailments required. Two sons were born to him in Geneva. The greatest cordiality among themselves, and affection to him subsisted in the small flock under his charge. With his colleague, Christopher Goodman, he lived as a brother; and was happy in the friendship of Calvin and the other pastors of Geneva. So much was he pleased with the purity of religion established in that city, that he warmly recommended it to his religious acquaintances in England, as the best Christian asylum to which they could flee. "In my heart (says he, in a letter to his friend Mr. Locke) I could have wished, yea, and cannot cease to wish, that it might please God to guide and conduct yourself to this place, where I neither fear nor eshame to say, is the most perfect school of Christ that ever was in the earth, since the days of the apostles. In other places I confess Christ to be truly preached; but manners and religion so sincerely reformed, I have not yet seen in any other place beside."\*

But neither the enjoyment of personal accommodations, nor the pleasure of literary society, nor the endearments of domestic happiness, could subdue our Reformer's ruling passion, or unfix his determination to return to Scotland, as soon as an opportunity should offer for advancing the Reformation among his countrymen. In a letter written to some of his friends in Edinburgh, March 16, 1557, we find him expressing himself thus: "My own motion and daily prayer is, not only that I may visit you, but also that with joy I may end my battle among

of their order of worship and discipline until Knox's arrival; for the preface to *The order of Geneva*, is dated "the 10th of February, Anno 1556," i. e. 1557, unless they followed the Genevan mode of reckoning. Dunlop's Collection of Confessions, ii. 401.

\* MS. Letters, p. 377.

you. And assure yourself of that, that whenever a greater number among you shall call upon me than now hath bound me to serve them, by his grace it shall not be the fear of punishment, neither yet of the death temporal, that shall impede my coming to you.”\* A certain heroic confidence, and assurance of ultimate success have often been displayed by those whom providence has raised up to achieve great revolutions in the world; by which they have been borne up under discouragements which would have overwhelmed men of ordinary spirits, and emboldened to face dangers from which others would have shrunk appalled. This enthusiastic heroism (I use not the epithet in a bad sense) often blazed forth in the conduct of the great German Reformer. Knox possessed no inconsiderable portion of the same spirit. “Satan, I confess, rageth (says he in a letter nearly of the same date with that last quoted;) but potent is He that promised to be with us, in all such enterprizes as we take in hand at his commandment, for the glory of his name, and for maintenance of his true religion. And therefore the less fear we any contrary power: yea, in the boldness of our God, we altogether condemn them, be they kings, emperors, men, angels, or devils. For they shall be never able to prevail against the simple truth of God which we openly profess: by the permission of God, they may appear to prevail against our bodies; but our cause shall triumph in despite of Satan.”†

Within a month after he wrote the letter last quoted but one, James Syme, who had been his host at Edinburgh, and James Barron, another burgess of the same city, arrived at Geneva with a letter, and credence, from the Earl of Glencairn, Lords Lorn, Er-

\* MS. Letters. p. 408.

† Ibid. p. 378.

skine, and James Stewart, informing him that those who had professed the reformed doctrine remained stedfast, that its adversaries were daily losing credit in the nation, and that those who possessed the supreme authority, although they had not yet declared themselves friendly, still refrained from persecution; and inviting him in their own name, and in that of their brethren, to return to Scotland, where he would find them all ready to receive him, and to spend their lives and fortunes in advancing the cause which they had espoused.\*

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 97, 98.



## PERIOD V.

FROM HIS INVITATION INTO SCOTLAND, BY THE PROTESTANT NOBILITY, ANNO 1557, TO HIS SETTLEMENT AS MINISTER OF EDINBURGH, UPON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION, ANNO 1560.

THIS invitation Knox laid before his congregation, and also submitted to Calvin, and his colleagues. The latter delivered it as their opinion, "that he could not refuse the call, without shewing himself rebellious to God, and unmerciful to his country." His congregation agreed to sacrifice their particular interest to the greater good of the church; and his own family silently acquiesced. Upon this, he returned an answer to the letter of the nobility, signifying, that he meant to visit them with all reasonable expedition. Accordingly, after seeing the congregation agreeably provided with a pastor in his room,\* and settling his other affairs, he took an af-

\* This was *William Whittingham*. He was the son of William Whittingham, Esq. of Holmeside, in the county of Chester, was born anno 1524, educated at Oxford, and held in great reputation for his learning. Upon the accession of Queen Mary, he went first to Frankfort, and afterwards to Geneva, where he married Catherine, the sister of John Calvin. He was one of the translators of the Genevabible, and composed several of the metrical psalms which accompanied it. He fell under the displeasure of Queen Elizabeth, on account of a commendatory preface which he wrote to Christopher Goodman's book on *Obedience to Superior Powers*, in which, among other free sentiments, the government of women was condemned. But he enjoyed the protection of some of the principal courtiers. In 1560, he accompanied the Earl of Bedford in an embassy to France, and, in 1562, and in

sectionate leave of his friends at Geneva, and went to Dieppe, in the beginning of October. While he waited there for a vessel, he received letters from Scotland, written in a very different strain from the former. These informed him, that new consultations had been held; that some began to repent of the invitation which they had given him to return to Scotland; and that the greater part seemed irresolute and faint-hearted.

This intelligence exceedingly disconcerted and embarrassed him. He instantly dispatched a letter to the nobility who had invited him, upbraiding them for their timidity and inconstancy. The information, which he had just received, had (he said) confounded and pierced him with sorrow. After taking the advice of the most learned and godly in Europe, for the satisfaction of his own conscience and theirs, respecting this enterprize, the abandonment of it would reflect disgrace upon either him or them: it would argue either that he had been marvellously forward and vain, or else that they had betrayed great imprudence and want of judgment in their invitation. To some it might appear a small matter, that he had left his poor family destitute of

1563, acted as chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, during the defence of Havre de Grace. That brave nobleman was at a loss for words to express his high esteem for him. In 1563, he was made Dean of Durham. I have already mentioned (p. 43,) that an unsuccessful attempt was made to invalidate the ordination which he received at Geneva. On that occasion Dr. Hutton, Dean of York, told Archbishop Sandys, that Whittingham "was ordained in a *better* manner than even the Archbishop himself;" and the Lord President said, he could not in conscience agree to "allow of the popish massing priests in our ministry, and to disallow of ministers made in a reformed church." Whittingham never conformed fully to the English church, and died in 1579. Hutchinson's History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham, ii. 143—152, 378. Forbes's State Papers, ii. 207. 418, 487.

a head, and committed the care of his small but dearly beloved flock to another; but, for his part, he could not name the sum that would induce him to go through the same scene a second time, and to behold so many grave men weeping at his departure. What answer could he give, on his return, to those who enquired, why he did not prosecute his journey? He could take God to witness, that the personal inconveniences to which he had been subjected, or the mortification which he felt at the disappointment, was not the chief cause of his grief. But he was alarmed at the awful consequences which would ensue, at the bondage and misery, spiritual and temporal, which they would entail upon themselves and their children, their subjects, and their posterity, if they neglected the present opportunity of introducing the gospel into their native country. In conscience, he could except, from blame in this matter, none that bare the name of nobility in Scotland. His words might seem sharp and indiscreet; but charity would construe them in the best sense, and wise men would consider that a true friend cannot flatter, especially in a case which involved the salvation of body and soul, not of a few persons, but of a whole realm. “What are the sobs, and what is the affliction of my troubled heart, God shall one day declare. But this will I add to my former rigour and severity; to wit, if any persuade you, for fear or dangers to follow, to faint in your former purpose, be he esteemed never so wise and friendly, let him be judged of you both foolish, and your mortal enemy.—I am not ignorant that fearful troubles shall ensue your enterprize; as in my former letters I did signify unto you. But, O! joyful and comfortable are those troubles and adversities which man sustaineth for accomplishment of God’s will revealed in his word. For how terrible that ever they appear to



the judgment of natural men, yet are they never able to devour nor utterly to consume the sufferers ; for the invisible and invincible power of God sustaineth and preserveth, according to his promise, all such as with simplicity do obey him.—No less cause have ye to enter in your former enterprize, than Moses had to go to the presence of Pharaoh ; for your subjects, yea your brethren, are oppressed ; their bodies and souls holden in bondage : and God speaketh to your consciences, (unless ye be dead with the blind world,) that ye ought to hazard your own lives, be it against kings or emperors, for their deliverance. For, only for that cause are ye called princes of the people, and receive honour, tribute and homage at God's commandment, not by reason of your birth and progeny (as the most part of men falsely do suppose,) but by reason of your office and duty ; which is, to vindicate and deliver your subjects and brethren from all violence and oppression, to the uttermost of your power.”\*

Having sent off this letter, with others, written in the same strain, to Erskine of Dun, Wishart of Pittarow, and some other gentlemen of his acquaintance, he resolved to spend some time in the interior of France, hoping to receive in a little more favourable accounts from Scotland.† The reformed doctrine had been early introduced into the kingdom of France ; it had been watered with the blood of many martyrs ; and all the violence and barbarity which had been employed, had not been able to extirpate it, or prevent it from spreading among all ranks. The Parisian protestants were at present smarting under the effects of one of those massacres, which so

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 98—100.

† I find him, about this time, addressing a letter to one of his correspondents from Lyons. *MS. Letters*, p. 346. This letter is subscribed *John Sinclair*.

often disgraced the Roman Catholic religion in that country, before as well as after the commencement of the civil wars. Not satisfied with assaulting them when peaceably assembled for worship in a private house, and treating them with great barbarity, their adversaries, in imitation of their pagan predecessors, invented the most diabolical calumnies against them, and circulated every where, that they were guilty of committing the most flagitious crimes in their assemblies.\* The innocent sufferers had drawn up an apology, vindicating themselves from this atrocious charge, and Knox having got a copy of this, translated it into English, and wrote a preface and additions to it, intending to publish it for the use of his countrymen.†

\* *Histoire des Martyrs*, p. 425, 426. Anno 1597. Folio. The Cardinal of Lorrain, uncle to Mary the young Queen of Scotland, was industrious in propagating this vile calumny; a circumstance which no doubt contributed to increase Knox's bad opinion of that most determined enemy of the Reformation. This is mentioned by him in his preface to the Parisian Apology. "This was not bruited be the rude and ignorant pepil; but a Cardinall (whais ipoerisie nevertheless is not abil to cover his awn filthines) eschamit not opinlie at his tabill to affirme that maist impudent and manifest lie; adding moreover (to the further declaratioun whais sone he was) that, in the heus whair thay wer apprehendit, 8 beddis wer preparit. When in verie deid in that place whair thay did couvene, (except a table for the Lord's Supper to have been ministered, a chayr for the preicher, and bankis and stullis for the easement of the auditors) no preparation nor furniture was abill to be proved, not even be the verie enemyis." MS. Letters, p. 445, 446.

† MS. Letters, p. 442—500. The apology of the Parisian protestants was published; but I do not know that ever Knox's translation and additions appeared in print. The writer of the Life of Knox, prefixed to the edition of his history, 1732, page xxi. has fallen into several blunders in speaking of this subject. There are no letters to the French protestants in the MS. to which he refers; and the apology was written by the Parisians themselves, and only translated partly by Knox, but "the most part by another, because of his other labours."

Having acquired the French language, and formed an acquaintance with many of the protestants, he occasionally preached to them in passing through the country. It seems to have been on the present occasion, that he preached in the city of Rochelle, when, having introduced the subject of his native country, he told his audience that he expected, within a few years, to preach in the church of St. Giles, in Edinburgh.\* There is nothing in our Reformer's letters from which I can learn whether he found any protestants in Dieppe, a place which he so often visited during his exile: it is probable he did; for at an early period of the following century they had a very numerous church in that town.†

Having received no intelligence of an encouraging nature, Knox determined to relinquish for the present his design of proceeding to Scotland. This

\* "Having particularly declared to me (says Row) by those who heard him say, when he was in Rochel. in France, that within two or three years he hoped to preach the gospel publicly in St. Giles kirk in Edinburgh. But the persons who heard him say it, being papists for the time, and yet persuaded by a nobleman to hear him preach privately, and see him baptize a bairn, that was carried many miles to him for that purpose, thought that such a thing could never come to pass, and hated him for so speaking; yet, coming home to Scotland, and through stress of weather likely to perish, they began to think of his preaching, and allowed of every part of it, and vowed to God, if he would preserve their lives, that they would forsake papistry and follow the calling of God; whilk they did, and saw, and heard John Knox preach openly in the kirk of Edinburgh, at the time whereof he spoke to them." Row's History, MS. p. 8, 9. The same fact is mentioned by Pierre de la Roque, a French author, in *Recueil des Dernieres Heures Edifiantes*, apud Wodrow, MSS. No. 15. Advocates Library.

† Mr. Robert Trail, minister first at Ely, and afterwards at Edinburgh, when he was in France, between 1625 and 1630, was present in a congregation at Dieppe, when 5000 people were assembled. Note of the most remarkable particulars in a MS. account of Mr. Robert Trail, written with his own hand, anno 1669, p. 4. MS. *penes me*.



resolution does not accord with the usual firmness of our Reformer, and is not sufficiently accounted for in the common histories. The protestant nobles had not retracted their invitation; the discouraging letters which he had received were written by individuals, without any commission from them; and if their zeal and courage had begun to flag, there was the more need of his presence to recruit them. His private letters to his familiar acquaintances enable me to state more fully the motives by which he was actuated in taking this retrograde step. He was perfectly aware of the struggle which would be necessary in effectuating the Reformation; that his presence in Scotland would excite the rage of the clergy, who would make every effort to crush their adversaries, and maintain the lucrative system of corruption; and that civil discord, confusion, and bloodshed might be expected to ensue. The prospect of these things rushed into his mind, and (regardless of public tranquillity as some have pronounced him to be) staggered his resolution in prosecuting an undertaking which his judgment approved as lawful, laudable, and necessary. When, says he, ‘I heard such troubles as appeared in that realm, I began to dispute with myself as followeth: “Shall Christ, the author of peace, concord, and quietness, be preached where war is proclaimed, sedition engendered, and tumults appear to rise? Shall not his evangel be accused as the cause of all this calamity, which is like to follow? What comfort canst thou have to see the one half of the people rise up against the other, yea, to jeopard the one, to murder and destroy the other? But, above all, what joy shall it be to thy heart, to behold with thy eyes thy native country betrayed in [to] the hands of strangers, which to no man’s judgment can be avoided; because that those who ought to defend

it, and the liberty thereof, are so blind, dull, and obstinate, that they will not see their own destruction?"\* To "these and more deep cogitations" (which continued to distract his mind for several months after he returned to Geneva) he principally imputed his abandonment of the journey to Scotland. At the same time, he was convinced that they were not sufficient to justify his desisting from an undertaking, recommended by so many powerful considerations. "But, alas! (says he) as the wounded man, be he never so expert in physick or surgery, cannot suddenly mitigate his own pain and dolour; no more can I the fear and grief of my heart, although I am not ignorant of what is to be done. It may also be, that the doubts and cold writing of some brethren did augment my dolour, and somewhat discourage me that before was more nor feeble. But nothing do I so much accuse as myself." Whatever were the secondary causes of this step, I cannot but again direct the readers attention to the wisdom of Providence, in throwing impediments in his way, by which his return to Scotland was protracted to a period, before which it might have been injurious, and at which it was calculated to be in the highest degree useful to the great cause which he had at heart.

Before he left Dieppe, he transmitted two long letters to Scotland: the one, dated 1st December, 1557, was addressed to the protestants in general, the other, dated the 17th of the same month, was directed to the nobility. In judging of Knox's influence in advancing the Reformation, we must take into view not only his personal labours, but also the epistolary correspondence which he maintained with his countrymen. By this, he instructed them

\* M<sup>6</sup>. Letters, p. 349.

in his absence, communicated his own advice, and that of the learned among whom he resided, upon every difficult case which occurred, and animated them to constancy and perseverance. The letters which he wrote at this time deserve particular attention in this view. In both of them he prudently avoids any reference to his late disappointment.

In the first letter he strongly inculcates purity of morals, and warns all who professed the reformed religion against those irregularities of life, which were improved to the disparagement of their cause, by two classes of persons; by the papists, who, although the same vices prevailed in a far higher degree among themselves, represented them as the native fruits of the protestant doctrine; and by a new sect, who were enemies to superstition, and had belonged to their own society, but having deserted it, had become scarcely less hostile to them than the papists. The principal design of this letter was to put them on their guard against the arts of this class of persons, and to expose their leading errors.

The persons to whom he referred were those who went under the general name of *Anabaptists*, a sect which sprung up in Germany, soon after the commencement of the Reformation under Luther, broke out into the greatest excesses, and produced the most violent commotions in different places. Being suppressed in Germany, it spread through other countries, and secretly made converts by high pretensions to seriousness and Christian simplicity; the spirit of turbulence and wild fanaticism, which at first characterized the sect, gradually subsiding after the first effervescence. Ebullitions of a similar kind have not unfrequently accompanied great revolutions; when the minds of men, dazzled by a sudden irradiation, and released from the galling fetters of despotism, civil or ecclesiastical, have



been disposed to fly to the opposite extreme of anarchy and extravagance. Nothing proved more vexing to the original reformers than this; it was improved by the defenders of the old system as a popular argument against all mutation; and many who had declared themselves friendly to reform, alarmed, or pretending to be alarmed, at this hideous spectre, drew back, and sheltered themselves within the sacred pale of the Catholic church.

The radical error of this sect, according to the more improved system held by them at the time of which I write, was a fond conceit of a certain ideal perfection and spirituality which belonged to Christians and the Christian church, by which they differed essentially, and *toto cælo*, from the Jewish church, which they looked upon as a carnal, worldly society. By this, they were naturally led to abridge the rule of faith and manners, by confining themselves almost entirely to the New Testament, and to adopt their other opinions, concerning the unlawfulness of infant baptism, civil magistracy, national churches, oaths, and defensive war. But besides these notions, the anabaptists were, at this period, generally infected with the Arian and Pelagian heresies, and united with the papists in loading the doctrines maintained by the reformers, respecting predestination and grace, with the most odious charges.\*

\* 'The Carelesby Necessitie, as reprinted in Knox's Answer to an Anabaptist, 1560. Spanhemii (Patris) Disput. Theol. Miscell. Genevæ, 1652, Spanhemii (Filii) Opera, Tom. III. pp. 771—798.—It is scarcely necessary to add that the great body of those who, in the present day, oppose the baptism of infants do not hold a number of the tenets specified above. They are decidedly hostile to the Arian and Pelagian errors, and friendly to the doctrine of grace. So far from denying the lawfulness of magistracy among Christians, they have in general (at least in Scotland) adopted the principle of non-resistance to civil rulers in all cases.

Our Reformer had occasion to meet with some of these sectaries, both in England and on the continent, and had ascertained their extravagant and dangerous principles.\* He was apprised that they were creeping into Scotland, and was afraid that they would insidiously instil their poison into the minds of some of his brethren. He refuted their opinion respecting church-communion, by shewing that they required such purity as was never found in the church, either before or since the completion of the canon of scripture. In opposition to their Pelagian tenets, he gave the following statement of his sentiments. “If there be any thing which God did not predestinate and appoint, then lacked he wisdom and free regimen; or, if any thing was ever done, or yet after shall be done in heaven or in earth, which he might not have impeded, (if so had been his godly pleasure,) then is he not omnipotent; which three properties, to wit, wisdom, free regimen, and power denied to be in God, I pray you what rests in his godhead? The wisdom of our God we acknowledge to be such, that it compelleth the very malice of Satan, and the horrible iniquity

\* When he was in London, in the year 1553, one of them came to his lodging, and, after requiring of him great secrecy, gave him a book written by one of his party, which he pressed him much to read. Upon looking into it, he perceived the following proposition, that “God made not the world, nor the wicked creatures in it; but these were made by the devil, who is therefore called *the God of this world*.” Knox immediately warned the man against such gross doctrine, and began to explain to him the sense in which the devil is called “the god of this world” in scripture. “Tush for your written word (answered the enthusiast;) we have as good and as sure a word and veritie that teacheth us this doctrine, as ye have for you and your opinion.”—Knox adds, that he knew others of that sect, who maintained the old heresy of the Manicheans. Answer to the Blasphemous Cavillations written by an Anabaptist, p. 405, 407. Anno 1560.

of such as be drowned in sin, to serve to his glory and to the profit of his elect. His power we believe and confess to be infinite, and such as no creature in heaven or earth is able to resist. And his regimen we acknowledge to be so free, that none of his creatures dare present them in judgment, to reason or demand the question, Why hast thou done this or that? But the fountain of this their damnable error (which is, that in God they can acknowledge no justice except that which their foolish brain is able to comprehend,) at more opportunity, God willing, we shall entreat.”\*

He assigns his reasons for warning them so particularly against the seduction of these erroneous teachers. Under the cloak of mortification, and the colour of a godly life, they “supplanted the dignity of Christ,” and “were become enemies to free justification by faith in his blood.” The malice of their popish adversaries was now visible to all the world. The hypocrisy of mercenary teachers and ungodly professors would soon discover itself. Seldom was open tyranny able to suppress the true religion, when once earnestly embraced by the body of any nation or province. “But deceivable and false doctrine is a poison and venom, which, once drunken, and received, with great difficulty can afterward be purged.” Accordingly, he obtested them to “try the spirits” which came unto them, “and to suffer no man to take the office of preacher upon him, of his own accord, without trial, and to assemble the people in privy conventions; else Satan would soon have his emissaries among them, who would “de-

\* This he afterwards accomplished in the book referred to in the preceding note, in which he largely explains the doctrine of predestination, as held by the reformed churches, and vindicates it against the cavils and misrepresentations of its adversaries.



stroy the plantation of our heavenly Father.”\* His admonitions, on this head, were not without effect; and the protestants of Scotland were not distracted with these opinions, but remained united in their views, as to doctrine, worship, and discipline.

His letter to the protestant lords breathes a spirit of ardent and noble piety. He endeavours to purify their minds from selfish and worldly principles; to raise, sanctify, and christianize their motives, by exhibiting and recommending to them the spirit and conduct of the princes and heroes, celebrated, not in profane, but sacred story. The glory of God, the advancement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, the salvation of themselves and their brethren, the emancipation of their country from spiritual and civil thralldom; these, and not their own honour and aggrandizement, or the revenging of their petty, private quarrels, were the objects which they ought to keep steadily and solely in view.

In this letter, he also communicates his advice on the delicate question of resistance to supreme rulers. They had consulted him on this question, and he had submitted it to the judgment of the most learned on the continent. Soon after the marriage of their young Queen to the Dauphin of France, the Scots began to be jealous of the designs of the French court against their liberties and independence. Their jealousies increased after the Regency was transferred to the Queen Dowager, who was wholly devoted to the interest of France, and had contrived, under different pretexts, to keep a body of French troops in the kingdom. It was not difficult to excite to resistance the independent and haughty barons of Scotland, accustomed to yield but a very limited and precarious obedience, even to their native princes. They had lately given a proof of

\* MS. Letters, p. 408—424.

this, by their refusal to co-operate in the war against England, which they considered as undertaken merely for French interests. How did our Reformer act upon this occasion? Did he lay hold on this occurrence, and attempt to inflame the irascible minds of the nobility? Did he persuade them to join with the Earl of Arran and others, who were discontented with the measures of government, and to endeavour in this way to advance their cause? No; on the contrary, he wrote, that rumours were circulated on the continent, that a rebellion was intended in Scotland; and he solemnly charged all that professed the protestant religion to avoid all accession to it, and to beware of countenancing those who, for the sake of worldly promotion, and other private ends, sought to disturb the government. The nobility were the guardians of the national liberties, and there were limits, beyond which obedience was not due; but recourse ought not to be had to resistance, until matters were tyrannically driven to extremity. It was incumbent on them to be very circumspect in all their proceedings, that their adversaries might have no reason to allege, that they covered a seditious and rebellious design with the cloak of religion. His advice to them, therefore, was that, by dutiful and cheerful obedience to all lawful commands, and by humble and repeated requests, they should endeavour to recommend themselves to the supreme authority, and procure its favour in promoting, or, at least, not persecuting the cause in which they were embarked. If all their endeavours failed, and the Regent refused to consent to a public Reformation, they ought to provide that the gospel should be preached, and the sacraments administered to themselves and their brethren; and if attempts were made to crush them by tyrannical violence, it was lawful for them, nay, it was a duty in-

cumbent upon them, in their high station, to stand up in defence of their brethren. “For a great difference there is betwixt lawful obedience, and a fearful flattering of princes, or an unjust accomplishment of their desires, in things which be required, or devised, for the destruction of a commonwealth.”\*

Knox returned to Geneva in the end of the year 1557. During the following year, he was engaged, along with several learned men of his congregation, in making a new translation of the Bible into English; which, from the place where it was composed and first printed, obtained the name of *The Geneva Bible*.† It was at this time that he published his *Letter to the Queen Regent*, and his *Appellation and Exhortation*; both of which were transmitted to Scotland, and contributed not a little to the spread of the reformed opinions. I have already given an account of the first of these tracts, which was chiefly intended for removing the prejudices of Catholics. The last was more immediately designed for instructing and animating such as were friendly to the reformed religion. Addressing himself to the nobility and estates, he shews that the care and reformation of religion belonged to civil rulers, and constituted one of the primary duties of their office. This was a dictate of nature as well as revelation; and he would not insist long upon that topic, lest

\* MS. Letters, p. 424—458.

† Strype's Mem. of Parker, p. 205. This translation was often reprinted in Britain. The freedom of remark, used in the notes, gave offence to Queen Elizabeth, and her successor James; the last of whom said, that it was the worst translation which he had seen. Notwithstanding this expression of disapprobation, it is evident that the translators, appointed by his authority, made great use of it; nor would our translation have been, upon the whole, worse, if they had followed it more. The late Dr. Geddes had a very different opinion of it from the Royal critic.



he should seem to suppose them “lesse careful over God’s true religion, than where the Ethnickes\* over their idolatrie.” Inferior magistrates, within the sphere of their jurisdiction, the nobles and estates of a kingdom, as well as kings and princes, were bound to attend to this high duty. He then addresses himself to the commonalty of Scotland, and points out their duty and interest, with regard to the important controversy in agitation. They were rational creatures, formed after the image of God; they had souls to be saved; they were accountable for their conduct; they were bound to judge of the truth of religion, and to make profession of it, as well as kings, nobles, or bishops. If idolatry was maintained, if the gospel was suppressed, if the blood of the innocent was shed, how could they be exculpated, provided they kept silence, and did not exert themselves to prevent these evils?†

But the most singular treatise published this year by Knox, and that which made the greatest noise, was *The first Blast of the Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment‡ of Women*; in which he attacked, with great vehemence, the practice of admitting females to the government of nations. There is some reason to think that his mind was struck with the incongruity of this practice, as early as Mary’s accession to the throne of England.§ This was probably one of the points on which he had conferred with the Swiss divines in 1554.|| It is certain, from a letter written by him in 1556, that his sentiments respecting it were then fixed and decided.¶ He continued, however, to retain them to himself; and

\* *i. e.* heathen.

† Appellation, apud Historie, p. 434—440, 453, 454.

‡ *i. e.* regimen, or government.

§ First Blast, apud Historie, p. 478.

|| MS. Letters, p. 318, 319.

¶ Ibid. p. 322, 323.

refrained for a considerable time from publishing them, out of deference to the opinions of others. But at last, provoked by the tyranny of the queen of England, and wearied out with her increasing cruelties, he applied the Trumpet to his mouth, and uttered a terrible blast. "To promote a woman to bear rule, superiority, dominion, or empire, above any realm, nation, or city, is repugnant to nature, contumely to God, a thing most contrarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance; and, finally, it is the subversion of all equity and justice." Such is the first sentence and principal proposition of the work. The arguments by which he endeavours to establish it are, that nature intended the female sex for subjection, not superiority to the male, as appears from their infirmities, corporeal and mental (he excepts, however, such as God "by singular privilege, and for certain causes, exalted from the common rank of women;") that the divine law, announced at the creation of the first pair, had expressly assigned to man the dominion over woman, and commanded her to be subject to him; that female government was not permitted among the Jews; is contrary to apostolical injunctions; and leads to the perversion of government, and many pernicious consequences.

Knox's theory on this subject was far from being novel. In confirmation of his opinion, he could appeal to the constitutions of the free states of antiquity, and to the authority of their legislators and philosophers.\* In the kingdom of France, females were, by an express law, excluded from

\* Tacitus has expressed his contempt of those who submit to female government, with his usual emphatic brevity, in the account which he gives of the *Sitones*, a German tribe. "Cætera similes, uno differunt, quod fœmina dominatur; in tantum, non modo a libertate, sed etiam a servitute degenerant." De Mor. Germ. c. 45.

succeeding to the crown. Edward VI. some time before his death, had proposed to the Privy Council the adoption of this law in England; but the motion, not suiting the ambitious views of the Duke of Northumberland, was overruled.\* Though his opinion was sanctioned by such high authorities, he was by no means sanguine in his expectations as to the reception of this performance. He tells us, in his preface, that he laid his account not only with the indignation of those interested in the support of the reprobated practice, but with the disapprobation of such gentle spirits among the learned, as would be alarmed at the boldness of the attack. He did not doubt, that he would be called "curious, spiteful, a sower of sedition, and one day per chance attainted for treason:" but, in uttering a truth of which he was deeply convinced, he was determined to "cover his eyes and shut his ears" from these dangers and obloquies. He was not disappointed in his apprehensions. It exposed him to the resentment of two queens, during whose reign it was his lot to live; the one his native princess, and the other exercising a sway in Scotland, scarcely inferior to that of any of its monarchs. Several of the exiles approved of his opinion,† and few of them would have been displeased at seeing it reduced to practice, at the time when the *Blast* was published. But queen Mary dying soon after it appeared, and her sister Elizabeth succeeding her, they raised a great outcry

\* Warner's *Eccles. History of England*, ii. 308.

† Christopher Goodman adopted the sentiment, and commended the publication of his colleague, in his book on *Obedience to Superior Powers*. Whittingham and Gilby did the same. I might also mention countrymen of his own, who agreed with Knox on this head; as James Kennedy, the celebrated Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Sir David Lindsay. Buchanan's *Hist. lib.* xii. p. 221 — 224. Rudim. Chalmers's *Lindsay*, iii. 175.



against it. John Fox wrote a letter to the author, in which he expostulated with him, in a very friendly manner, as to the impropriety of the publication, and the severity of its language. Knox, in his reply, did not excuse his “rude vehemency and inconsiderate affirmations, which might appear rather to proceed from choler than of zeal and reason;” but signified, that he was still persuaded of the principal proposition which he had maintained.\*

His original intention was to blow his Trumpet thrice, and to publish his name with the last Blast, to prevent the odium from falling on any other person. But, finding that it gave offence to many of his brethren, and being desirous to strengthen rather than invalidate the authority of Elizabeth, he relinquished the design of prosecuting the subject.† He retained his sentiments to the last, but abstained from any further declaration of them, and from replying to his opponents; although he was provoked by their censures and triumph, and, in his private letters, sometimes hinted that he would break silence, if they did not study greater moderation.

In the course of the following year, an answer to the Blast appeared, under the title of *An Harborowe for Faithful Subjects*.‡ Though anonymous, like the

\* Strype’s Annals, i. 127. Strype promised to insert Knox’s letter at large in the Appendix, but did not find room for it. Fox’s letter was written before the death of Queen Mary.

† The heads of the intended second Blast were published at the end of his *Appellation*.

‡ “An Harborowe for Faithful and Trewe Subjectes, against the late blowne Blaste, concerning the Government of Wemen, &c. Anno MD. lix. At Strasborowe the 26. of Aprill.” The Blast drew forth several defences of female government beside this; and among the rest two by Scotsmen. Bishop Lesley’s tract on this subject was printed along with his defence of queen Mary’s honour. David Chalmers, one of the Lords of Session, published his “Discours de la legitime succession des femmes,”

book to which it was a reply, it was soon declared to be the production of *John Aylmer*, one of the English refugees on the continent, who had been archdeacon of Stowe, and tutor to Lady Jane Grey. It was not undertaken until the accession of Elizabeth, and was written (as Aylmer's biographer informs us) "upon a consultation holden among the exiles, the better to obtain the favour of the new queen, and to take off any jealousy she might conceive of them, and of the religion which they professed."\* This, with some other circumstances, led Knox to express his suspicion, that the author had accommodated his doctrine to the times, and courted the favour of the reigning princess, by flattering her vanity and love of power.† It is certain, that if Knox is entitled to the praise of boldness and disinterestedness, Aylmer carried away the palm for prudence: the latter was advanced to the bishopric of London; the former could, with great difficulty, obtain leave to set his foot again upon English ground. As Knox's Trumpet would never have sounded its alarm, had it not been for the tyranny of Mary, there is reason to think that Aylmer's "Harborow" would never have been opened "for faith-

after he retired from Scotiand. Lord Hailes's Catal. of the Lords of Session, note 23. Mackenzie's Lives, iii. 388, 392.

\* Strype's Life of Aylmer, p. 16.

† The same suspicion seems to have been entertained by some of Elizabeth's courtiers. Ibid. p. 20. Aylmer himself says, that if the author of the Blast had not "swerved from the particular question to the general;—if he had kept him in that particular person, he could have said nothing too much, nor in such wise as to have offended any indifferent man;" and he allows that queen Mary's government was "unnatural, unreasonable, unjust, and unlawful." Harborowe, B. Strype says, contrary to the plain meaning of the passage, that Aylmer speaks here of "the Scotch Queen Mary." Life of Aylmer, p. 230.

ful subjects," but for the auspicious succession of Elizabeth.

Hanc veniam petimusque, damusque vicissim.

This, however, is independent of the merits of the question, which I do not feel inclined to examine minutely. The change which has taken place in the mode of administering government, in modern times, renders it of less practical importance than it was formerly, when so much depended upon the personal talents and activity of the reigning prince. It may be added, that the evils incident to a female reign will be less felt under such a constitution as that of Britain, than under a pure and absolute monarchy. This last consideration is urged by Aylmer; and here his reasoning is most satisfactory.\* The *Blast* bears the marks of hasty composition.† The *Harborow* has been written with great care; it contains a good collection of historical facts bearing on the question; and though more distinguished for rhetorical exaggeration than logical precision, the reasoning is ingeniously conducted, and occasionally enlivened by strokes of humour.‡ It is, upon the whole, a curious as well as rare work.

\* See Note T.

† The copies of the *Blast*, printed along with Knox's *History*, are all extremely incorrect: whole sentences are often omitted.

‡ In his answer to Knox's argument from Isaiah iii. 12. he concludes thus: "Therefore the argumente ariseth from wrong understandinge. As the vicar of Trumpenton understode *Eli, Eli, lama-zabatani*, when he read the Passion on Palme Sondag. When he came to that place, he stopped, and calling the churchwardens, saide, 'Neighboures! this gear must be amended. Heare is *Eli* twice in the book: I assure you, if my L. [the Bishop] of *Elie* come this waye, and see it, he will have the book. Therefore, by mine advice, we shall serape it out, and put in our own towne's name, *Trumpington, Trumpington, lamah zabactani*.' They con-



After all, it is easier to vindicate the expediency of continuing the practice, where it has been established by laws and usage, than to support the affirmative, when the question is propounded as a general thesis on government. It may fairly be questioned, if Aylmer has refuted the principal arguments of his opponent; and had Knox deemed it prudent to rejoin, he might have exposed the fallacy of his arguments in different instances. In replying to the argument from the apostolical canon (1 Tim. ii. 11—14.) the archdeacon is not a little puzzled. Distrusting his distinction between the greater office, “the ecclesiastical function,” and the less “extern policy;” he argues, that the apostle’s prohibition may be considered as temporary, and peculiarly applicable to the women of his own time; and he insists that his clients shall not, *in toto*, be excluded from teaching and ruling in the church, any more than in the state. “Me thinke, (says he, very seriously) even in this poynte, we must use *ἐπιεικεία*, a certain moderacion, not absolutely, and in every wise, to debar them herein (as it shall please God) to serve Christ. Are there not, in England, women, think you, that for their learninge and wisdom, could tell their householde and neighbouris as good a tale as the best Sir Jhone there?”\* Who can doubt, that the learned Lady Elizabeth, who could direct the Dean of her chapel to “keep to his text,” was able to make as good a sermon as any of her clergy? or that she was better qualified for the other parts of the duty, when she composed a book of prayers for herself, while they were obliged to use one made to their hands? In

sentent and he did so, because he understode no grewe.” Harborowe. G. 3. G. 4.

\* Harborowe, G. 4. H.

fact, the view which the archdeacon gave of the text was necessary to vindicate the authority of his queen, who was head, or supreme governor of the church as well as the state. She who, by law, had supreme authority over all archbishops, bishops, &c. in the land, with power to superintend, suspend, and controul them in all their ecclesiastical functions; who, by her injunctions, could direct the primate himself when to preach, and how to preach; who could license and silence ministers at her pleasure, had certainly the same right to assume the personal exercise of the office, if she choosed to do so; and must have been bound, very moderately indeed, by the apostolical prohibition, "I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence."\*

There are some things in the Harborow which might have been unpalatable to the queen, if the author had not taken care to sweeten them with that personal flattery, which was as agreeable to Elizabeth as to others of her sex and rank; and which he administered in sufficient quantities before concluding his work. The ladies will be ready to excuse a slight slip of the pen in the good archdeacon, in consideration of the handsome manner in which he has defended their right to rule; but they will scarcely believe that the following description of the sex could proceed from him. "Some women (says he) be wiser, better learned, discreater, constanter, than a number of men." But others, (his biographer says, "the most part") he describes† as "fond, foolish, wanton, flibbergibs, tatlers, triffling, wavering, witles, without counsel, feable, careles, rashe, proud, daintie, nise, tale-bearers, eves-droppers, rumour-raisers, evil-tongued, worse-minded, and, in

\* See Note U.      † Harborowe, G. 3. Life of Aylmer, p. 279.

every wise, doltified with the dregges of the devil's doungehill!!!” The rude author of the monstrous Blast never spake of the sex in terms half so disrespectful as these. One would suppose that Aylmer had already renounced the character of Advocate of the fair sex, and recanted his principles on that head; as he did respecting the titles and revenues of bishops, which he inveighed against before his return from exile, but afterwards accepted with little scruple; and, when reminded of the language which he had formerly used, apologized for himself, by saying, “When I was a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.”\* —But it is time to return, from this digression, to the narrative.

Our Reformer's letter to the protestant Lords in Scotland produced its intended effect, in re-animating their drooping courage. At a consultative meeting held at Edinburgh, in December 1557, they unanimously resolved to adhere to one another, and exert themselves for the advancement of the Reformation. Having subscribed a solemn bond of mutual assurance, they renewed their invitation to Knox; and being afraid that he might hesitate on account of their former irresolution they wrote to Calvin, to employ his influence to induce him to comply. Their letters did not reach Geneva until November, 1558.† By the same conveyance Knox received from Scotland letters of a later date, communicating the most agreeable intelligence, respecting the progress which the reformed cause had made, and the flourishing appearance which it continued to wear.

Through the exertions of our Reformer, during his

\* Life of Aylmer, p. 269.

† Knox, *Historie*, p. 101.



residence among them in the beginning of the year 1556, and in pursuance of the instructions which he left behind him, the protestants had formed themselves into congregations, which met in different parts of the country with greater or less privacy, according to the opportunities which they enjoyed. Having come to the resolution of withdrawing from the popish worship, they endeavoured to provide for their religious instruction and mutual edification, in the best manner that their circumstances permitted. As there were no ministers among them, they continued for some time to be deprived of the dispensation of the sacraments;\* but certain intelligent and pious men of their number were chosen, to read the scriptures, exhort, and offer up prayers, in their assemblies. Convinced of the necessity of order and discipline in their societies, and desirous to have them organized, as far as within their power, agreeably to the institution of Christ, they next proceeded to choose elders, for the inspection of their manners, to whom they promised subjection; and deacons, for the collection and distribution of alms to the poor.† Edinburgh was the first

\* Ninian Winzet says, that “sum Lordis and gentilmen” administered the sacrament of the supper “to thair awin houshald servandis and tenantis.” If only one instance of this kind occurred, the papists would exaggerate it. The same writer adds, that Knox blamed the persons who did it, saying, that they had “gretumlie failzeit.” Winzet’s *Buke of Fourseoir Three Questionis*, apud Keith. Append. p. 239. Comp. Knox, p. 117.

† Cald. MS. i. 257. “The Electioun of Eldaris and Deaconis in the church of Edinburgh,” apud Dunlop’s *Confessions*, ii. 635, 636. Calderwood places his account of this under the year 1555; but I think that date too early. It was rather in the end of 1556, or in the course of 1557. The names of the first elders in Edinburgh were George Smail, Michael Robertson, Adam Craig, John Cairns, and Alexander Hope. There were at

place in which this order was established; Dundee the first town in which a reformed church was completely organized, provided with a regular minister, and the dispensation of the sacraments.

During the war with England, which began in autumn 1556, and continued through the following year, the protestants enjoyed considerable liberty; and, as they improved it with the utmost assiduity, their numbers rapidly increased. William Harlow, John Douglas, Paul Methven, and John Willock, who had again returned from Embden, now began to preach, with greater publicity, in different parts of the country.\* The popish clergy were not indifferent to these proceedings, and wanted not inclination to put a stop to them. They prevailed on the queen regent to summon the protestant preachers; but the interposition of the gentlemen of the West country obliged her to abandon the process against them.† At length, the clergy determined to revive those cruel measures which, since the year 1550, had been suspended by the political circumstances of the kingdom, more than by their clemency or moderation. On the 28th of April, 1558, the Archbishop of St. Andrews committed to the flames Walter Milne, an aged priest, of the most inoffensive manners,‡ and summoned several others to appear, on a charge of heresy, before a convention of the clergy at Edinburgh.

first two assemblies in Edinburgh; but Erskine of Dun persuaded them to unite into one, which met sometimes in the houses of Robert Watson and James Barron, and sometimes in the abbey.

\* Knox, 94, 102, 117, 118. Spottiswood, p. 94—97. Keith, 64, 65. App. 90.

† Knox, *Historie*, p. 94. This seems to have taken place during the year 1557, or the beginning of 1558. In November 1558, Paul Methven was again summoned.

‡ When fastened to the stake, he said, "I trust in God I shall

This barbarous and illegal\* execution produced effects of the greatest importance. It raised the horror of the nation to an incredible pitch; and as it was believed, at that time, that the regent was not accessory to the deed, their indignation was directed wholly against the clergy. Throwing aside all fear, and those restraints which prudence, or a regard to established order, had hitherto imposed on them, the people now assembled openly to join in the reformed worship, and avowed their determination to adhere to it at all hazards. The protestant leaders laid their complaints, in a regular and respectful manner, before the regent, and repeated their petition, that she would, by her authority, and in concurrence with the Parliament, restrain the tyrannical proceedings of the clergy, correct the flagrant and insufferable abuses which prevailed in the church, and grant to them and their brethren the liberty of religious instruction and worship, at least according to a restricted plan, which they laid before her, and to which they were willing to submit, until such time as their grievances were deliberately examined and redressed.† The Regent's reply was such as to persuade them that she was friendly to their proposals: she promised, that she would take measures for carrying them legally into effect, as soon as it was in her power; and that, in the mean time, they might depend on her protection.‡

be the last that shall suffer death, in this land, for this cause." Lindsay's MS. apud Petrie, part ii. 191.

\* The secular judge refused to take any hand in the business, and the archbishop substituted one of his own servants in his place. Lindsay, *ut supra*.

† This plan may be seen at large in Knox's *Historie*, p. 119—124. Keith, p. 78—82. See also Note V, at the end of this Life.

‡ Knox, *Historie*, p. 122. Bishop Bale, who was then at Basle, inserted, in a work he was just publishing, a letter sent him



It did not require many arguments to persuade Knox to comply with an invitation, which was accompanied with such gratifying intelligence; and he began immediately to prepare for his journey to Scotland. The future settlement of the congregation under his charge occupied him for some time. Information being received of the death of Mary queen of England,\* and the accession of Elizabeth, the protestant refugees hastened to return to their native country. The congregation at Geneva, having met to return thanks to God for this deliverance, agreed to send one of their number with letters to their brethren in different places of the continent, particularly at Frankfort; congratulating them on the late happy change, and requesting a confirmation of the mutual reconciliation which had already been effected, the burial of all past offences, with a brotherly co-operation, in endeavouring to obtain such a settlement of religion in England as would be agreeable to all the sincere well-wishers of the Reformation. A favourable return to their letters being obtained,† they took leave of the hospitable

at this time, by Thomas Cole, an English refugee residing at Geneva, communicating this information. “*Heri enim (says Cole) D. Knoxus ex Scotia nova certissima de immutata religione accepit: Christum publice per totum illud regnum doceri; et ita demum hominum corda occupasse, ut omnia metu posito audeant publicis precibus interesse sua lingua celebratis, et sacramenta quoque habeant rite administrata, impuris antichristi ceremoniis abjectis.—Nunc regina cogitat Reformationem religionis, indicto die quo conventus fiat totius regni, &c.*” Scriptor. Illustr. Major. Britannix Poster. Pars. Art. *Knoxus*.

\* “God would not suffer her to reign long (says a Catholic writer;) either on account of the sins of her father, or on account of the sins of her people, who were unworthy of a princess so holy, so pious, and endued with such divine and rare dispositions!” Laing. de Vita Hæretic. fol. 28.

† Troubles at Franckford, p. 189, 190.

city, and set out for their native country. By them Knox sent letters to some of his former acquaintances, who were now in the court of Elizabeth, requesting permission to travel through England, on his way to Scotland.

In the month of January, 1559, our Reformer took his leave of Geneva, for the last time.\* In addition to former marks of respect, the republic, before his departure, conferred on him the freedom of the city.† He left his wife and family behind him, until he should ascertain that they could live with safety in Scotland. Upon his arrival at Dieppe, in the middle of March, he received information, that the English government had refused to grant him liberty to pass through their dominions. The request had appeared so reasonable to his own mind, considering the station which he had held in that country, and the object of his present journey, that he once thought of proceeding to London, without

\* Cald. MS. i. 380.

† *Historie Litteraire de Geneve*, par Jean Senebier, tome i. 375. Genev. 1786. It is somewhat singular, that Calvin did not obtain this honour until December, 1559. "Il n'y a cependant point de citoyen (says Senebier) qui ait achete ce titre honorable aussi cherement que lui par ses services, et je ne crois pas qu'il y en ait beaucoup qui l'aient autant merite, et qui le rendrent aussi celebre." Ibid. p. 230, 231.

Our Reformer obtained another public testimony of esteem at this time, from Bishop Bale, who dedicated his work on Scottish Writers to him and Alexander Aless. The praise which he bestows on him deserves the more notice, because the bishop had been one of his opponents at Frankfort. "Te vero, Knoxe, frater amantissime, conjunxit mihi Anglia et Germania, imprimis autem doctrinæ nostræ in Christo Domino fraterna consensio. Nemo est enim qui tuam fidem, constantiam, patientiam, tot erumnis, tanta, persecutione, exilioque diuturno et gravi testatum, non collaudet, et non admiretur, non amplectatur." Balei Script. Illus. Maj. Brit. poster. pars. p. 175, 176. Basilæ, ex officina Joan. Operini, 1559. Mense Februario.

waiting a formal permission; yet it was not without some difficulty that those who presented it escaped imprisonment.

This impolitic severity was occasioned by the informations of some of the exiles, who had not forgotten the old quarrel at Frankfort, and had accused of disloyalty and disaffection to the queen, not only Knox, but all those who had been under his charge at Geneva, whom they represented as proselytes to the opinion which he had published against female government. There was not an individual who could believe that Knox had the most distant eye to Elizabeth in publishing the obnoxious book; nor a person of judgment who could seriously think that her government was exposed to the slightest danger from him or his associates, who felt no less joy at her auspicious accession than the rest of their brethren.\* If he had been imprudent in that publication, if he had “swerved from the particular question to the general,” his error (to use the words of his respondent) “rose not of malice, but of zeal, and by looking more to the present cruelty, than to the inconveniencies that after might follow;” and it was the part of generosity and policy to overlook the fault. Instead of this, Elizabeth and her counsellors took up the charge in a serious light; and the accused were treated with such harshness and disdain, that they repented of leaving their asylum, to return to their native country. This conduct was the more inexcusable, as numbers who had been instrumental in the cruelties of the pre-

\* The exiles at Geneva dedicated, in February, 1559, their metrical version of the Psalms to queen Elizabeth. In the dedication they join their congratulations, with those of all their brethren, for her accession to the throne, and profess their loyalty in the warmest terms. They speak in the same strain in the dedication of their Translation of the Bible, published anno 1560.



ceding reign, were admitted to favour, or allowed to remain unmolested ; and even Bonner was allowed to present himself at court, and to retire with a simple frown.\*

De nobis, post hæc, tristis sententia fertur :

Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas.

Juvenal, Sat. ii.

The refusal of his request, and the harsh treatment of his flock, touched to the quick the irritable temper of our Reformer ; and it was with some difficulty that he suppressed the desire, which he felt rising in his breast, to prosecute a controversy which he had resolved to abandon.† But greater designs occupied his mind, and engrossed his attention. It was not for the sake of personal safety, nor from vanity of appearing at court, that he desired to pass through England. He felt the natural wish to visit his old acquaintances in that country, and

\* In the first Parliament of Elizabeth, one Dr. Story, who had been a chief instrument of the cruelties under the former reign, had the effrontery to make a speech in the House of Commons, in which he justified and boasted of his cruelty ; said, “ that he saw nothing to be ashamed of, or sorry for ; wished that he had done more, and that he and others had been more vehement in executing the laws ; and said that it grieved him, that they laboured only about the young and little twigs, whereas they should have struck at the root ;” by which he was understood to mean Queen Elizabeth. Yet it does not appear that he suffered any thing for this speech. Strype’s Annals, i. 79, 536.

† “ My *first Blast* (says he, in a letter, dated Dieppe, 6th April, 1559) hath blown from me all my friends in England. My conscience bears record, that yet I seek the favour of my God, and so I am in the less fear. The *second Blast*, I fear, shall sound somewhat more sharp, except that men be more moderate than I hear they are.—England hath refused me ; but because, before, it did refuse Christ Jesus, the less do I regard the loss of this familiarity. And yet have I been a secret and assured friend to thee O England, in cases which thyself could not have remedied.” Cald. MS. i. 284. See also Knox’s *Historie*, p. 204—207.

was anxious for an opportunity of addressing once more those to whom he had preached, especially at Newcastle and Berwick. But there was another object which he had still more at heart, in which the welfare of both England and Scotland were concerned.

Notwithstanding the flattering accounts which he received from his countrymen of the favourable disposition of the queen regent, and the directions which he sent them to cultivate this, he always entertained suspicions of the sincerity of her professions. But, since he left Geneva, they had been confirmed; and the information which he had procured, in travelling through France, conspired with the intelligence which he had lately received from Scotland, in convincing him, that the immediate suppression of the Reformation in his native country, and its consequent suppression in the neighbouring kingdom were intended. The plan projected by the gigantic ambition of the princes of Lorrain, brothers of the queen regent of Scotland, has been developed, and described with great accuracy and ability, by a celebrated modern historian.\* Suffice it to say here, that the court of France, under their influence, had resolved to set up the claim of the young queen of Scots to the crown of England; to attack Elizabeth and wrest the sceptre from her hands as a bastard and a heretic; and, as Scotland was the only avenue by which this attack could be successfully made, to begin by suppressing the Reformation, and establishing their power in that country. Knox, in the course of his journies through France, had formed an acquaintance with some persons about the court; and, by their means, had gained some knowledge of the plan.† He was convinced that the Scottish

\* Robertson's History of Scotland, B. ii. ad Ann. 1559.

† Knox, *Historie*, p. 206, 214, 260. He had an opportunity of receiving a confirmation of this intelligence during his voyage to

reformers were unable to resist the power of France, which was to be directed against them; and that it was the interest, as well as duty, of the English court to afford them the most effectual support. But he was afraid that a selfish and narrow policy might prevent them from doing this, until it was too late; and was therefore anxious to call their attention to this subject at an early period, and to put them in possession of the facts that had come to his knowledge. The assistance which Elizabeth granted to the Scottish protestants, in 1559 and 1560, was dictated by the soundest policy. It baffled and defeated the designs of her enemies at the very outset; it gave her an influence over Scotland, which all her predecessors could not obtain by the terror of their arms, nor the influence of their money; it secured the stability of her government, by extending and strengthening the protestant interest, the principal pillar on which it rested. And it reflects not a little credit on our Reformer's sagacity, that he had formed this plan in his mind at so early a period, was the first person who proposed it, and persisted (as we shall see) to urge its adoption, until his endeavours were crowned with success.

Scotland. In the same ship in which he sailed, there was sent by the French court, to the Queen Regent, a staff of state, with a great seal, on which were engraved the arms of France, Scotland, and *England*. This was shewn to him in great secrecy. The English court, after they were awakened from their lethargy, and convinced of the hostile designs of France, applied to Knox for that information which they might have had six months before. Cotton MSS. Caligula, B. ix. f. 38, 74. Sadler's State Papers, i. 463, 688. Keith, Ap. p. 38, 42. The English certainly suffered themselves to be amused at the treaty of Chateau-Cambrensis, while the courts of France and Spain concerted measures dangerous to England, and the whole protestant interest. Dr. Wotton, one of the commissioners, complains, in a letter to Cecil, of want of intelligence, and that the English had no spies on the continent. Forbes's State Papers, i. 23.



Deeply impressed with these considerations, he resolved, although he had already been twice repulsed, to brook the mortification, and make another attempt to obtain an interview with some confidential agent of the English government. With this view, he, on the 10th of April, wrote a letter to Secretary Cecil, with whom he had been personally acquainted during his residence in London. Adverting to the treatment of the exiles who had returned from Geneva, he exculpated them from all responsibility as to the offensive book which he had published, and assured him that he had not consulted with one of them previous to its publication. As for himself, he did not mean to deny that he was the author, nor was he yet prepared to retract the leading sentiment which it contained. But he was not, on that account, less friendly to the person and government of Elizabeth, in whose exaltation he cordially rejoiced; although he rested the defence of her authority upon grounds different from the common. This was the third time that he had craved liberty to pass through England. He had no desire to visit the court, nor to remain long in the country; but he was anxious to communicate to him, or some other trusty person, matters of importance, which it was not prudent to commit to writing, nor to entrust to an ordinary messenger. If his request was refused, it would turn out to the disadvantage of England.\*

The situation in which he stood, at this time, with the court of England was so well known, that it was with difficulty that he could find a messenger to carry the letter;† and, either despairing of the

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 204, 206.

† The person whom he at last persuaded to take his letter was Richard Harrison. But the honest spy, (for such was his employment at that time) dreading that Knox had made him the

success of his application, or hastened by intelligence received from Scotland, he sailed from Dieppe on the 22d of April, and landed safely at Leith in the beginning of May.\*

On his arrival, he found matters in the most critical state in Scotland. The queen regent had thrown of the mask which she had long worn, and avowed her determination forcibly to suppress the Reformation. As long as she stood in need of the assistance of the protestants, to support her authority against the Hamiltons, and procure the matrimonial crown for her son-in-law, the Dauphin of France, she courted their friendship, listened to their plans of reform, professed dissatisfaction with the corruption and tyranny of the ecclesiastical order, and her desire of correcting them as soon as a fit opportunity offered, and flattered them, if not with the hopes of her joining their party, at least with assurances that she would shield them from the fury of the clergy. So completely were they duped by her consummate address and dissimulation,† that they complied with all her requests, restrained some of their preachers from teaching in public, and desisted from presenting to the late Parliament a petition which they had prepared; nor would they believe her insincere, even after different parts of her conduct had afforded strong grounds for suspicion. But, having accomplished the great objects which she had in view, she at last, in conformity with instructions from France,

bearer of another *Blast*, which, if it did not endanger the throne of Elizabeth, might blow up his credit with the court, prudently carried the suspicious packet to Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, the English ambassador at the court of France, and obtained his sanction and safe-conduct before conveying it to London. Letter from Throckmorton to Cecil, 15th of May, 1559. Forbes's State Papers, i. 90, 91.

\* Cald. MS. 392, 393. Knox, *Historie*, p. 127, 207.

† See Note W.

and secret engagements with the clergy, adopted measures which completely undeceived them, and discovered the gulph into which they were ready to be precipitated. Some of the protestant leaders having waited on her to intercede in behalf of their preachers, who had been summoned by her, she told them in plain terms, that, "in spite of them, they should be all banished from Scotland, although they preached as truly as ever St Paul did ;" and when they reminded her of the repeated promises of protection that she had given them, she unblushingly replied, that "it became not subjects to burden their princes with promises, farther than they pleased to keep them." They told her that if she violated the engagements which she came under to her subjects, they would consider themselves as released from allegiance to her, and warned her very freely of the dangerous consequences ; upon which she adopted milder language, and engaged to prevent the trial. But soon after, upon hearing that the exercise of the reformed religion had been introduced into the town of Perth, she renewed the process, and summoned all the preachers to appear at Stirling, on the 10th of May, to undergo a trial.\*

The state of our Reformer's mind, upon receiving this information, will appear from the following letter, hastily written by him on the day after he landed in Scotland.

"The perpetual comfort of the Holy Ghost for salutation.

"These few lines are to signify unto you, dear sister, that it hath pleased the merciful providence of my heavenly Father to conduct me to Edinburgh, where I arrived the 2d of May : uncertain as yet

\* Buchanan Hist. lib. xvi. p. 312, 313. Oper. Rudim. Knox, Spottiswood.



what God shall further work in this country, except that I see the battle shall be great. For Satan rageth even to the uttermost, and I am come, I praise my God, even in the brunt of the battle. For my fellow preachers have a day appointed to answer before the Queen Regent, the 10th of this instant, when I intend (if God impede not) also to be present; by life, by death, or else by both, to glorify his godly name, who thus mercifully hath heard my long cries. Assist me, sister, with your prayers, that now I shrink not, when the battle approacheth. Other things I have to communicate with you, but travel after travel doth so occupy me, that no time is granted me to write. Advertise my brother, Mr. Goodman, of my estate; as, in my other letter sent unto you from Dieppe, I willed you. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ rest with you. From Edinburgh, in haste, the 3d of May.”\*

Although his own cause was prejudged, and sentence already pronounced against him, he did not hesitate a moment in resolving to present himself voluntarily at Stirling, to assist his brethren in their defence, and share in their danger. Having rested only a single day at Edinburgh, he hurried to Dundee, where he found the principal protestants in Angus and Mearns already assembled, determined to attend their ministers to the place of trial, and to avow their adherence to the doctrines for which they were accused. The providential arrival of such an able champion of the cause, at this crisis, must have been very encouraging to the assembly; and the liberty of accompanying them, which he requested, was readily granted.

Lest the unexpected approach of such a multitude, though unarmed, should alarm or offend the

\* Letter to Mrs. Anne Locke, apud Cald. MS. i. 393.

regent the CONGREGATION.\* (for so the protestants began at this time to be called) agreed to stop at Perth, and sent Erskine of Dun before them to Stirling, to acquaint her with the peaceable object and manner of their coming. Apprehensive that their presence would disconcert her measures, the regent had again recourse to dissimulation. She persuaded Erskine to write to his brethren to desist from their intended journey, and authorized him to promise in her name, that she would put a stop to the trial. The congregation testified their pacific intentions by a cheerful compliance with this request, and the greater part, confiding in the royal promise, returned to their homes. But when the day of trial came, the summons was called by the orders of the queen, the accused were outlawed for not appearing, and all were prohibited, under the pain of rebellion, from harbouring or assisting them.

Escaping from Stirling, Erskine brought to Perth the intelligence of this disgraceful transaction, which could not fail to incense the protestants. It happened that, on the same day on which the news came, Knox, who remained at Perth, preached a sermon, in which he exposed the idolatry of the mass, and of image-worship. Sermon being ended, the audience

\* Dr. Robertson says that they were distinguished by this name "from their union;" others say, that they received it from their calling themselves so frequently "the Congregation of Christ," particularly in the covenant which they had lately subscribed. It is of more importance to observe, that from the time that they began to suspect the regent's hostile intentions, the protestants were industrious in obtaining subscriptions to this covenant. Copies of it were committed to the principal persons among them in different districts, who received the names of all such as were friendly to the Reformation. By this means they were firmly bound to one another, and had also an opportunity of exactly ascertaining their number. Buchanan. Hist. lib. xvi. p. 311. Oper. Rudim. Keith, p. 68, 69.

quietly dismissed ; a few idle persons only loitered in the church : when an imprudent priest, wishing either to try the disposition of the people, or to shew his contempt of the doctrine which had been just delivered, uncovered a rich altar-piece, decorated with images, and prepared to celebrate mass. A boy, having uttered some expressions of disapprobation, was struck by the priest. He retaliated by throwing a stone at the aggressor, which, falling on the altar, broke one of the images. This operated like a signal upon the people present, who had taken part with the boy ; and, in the course of a few minutes, the altar, images, and all the ornaments of the church were torn down, and trampled under foot. The noise soon collected a mob, who finding no employment in the church, by a sudden and irresistible impulse, flew upon the monasteries ; nor could they be restrained by the authority of the magistrates and the persuasions of the preachers (who assembled as soon as they heard of the riot,) until the houses of the grey and black friars, with the costly edifice of the Carthusian monks, were laid in ruins. None of the gentlemen or sober part of the congregation were concerned in this unpremeditated tumult ; it was wholly confined to the baser inhabitants, or (as Knox designs them) “ the rascall multitude.”\*

The demolition of the monasteries having been represented as the first-fruits of our Reformer’s labours on this occasion, it was necessary to give this minute account of the causes which produced that event. Whatever his sentiments were as to the destruction of the instruments and monuments of idolatry, he wished this to be accomplished in a regu-

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 128.



lar manner; he was sensible that such tumultuary proceedings were prejudicial to the cause of the reformers in present circumstances; and, instead of instigating, he exerted himself in putting a stop to the ravages of the mob. If it must be traced to a remote cause, we must impute it to the wanton and dishonourable perfidy of the queen.

In fact, nothing could be more favourable to the designs of the regent than this riot. By her recent conduct, she had forfeited the confidence of the protestants, and even exposed herself in the eyes of the sober and moderate of her own party. This occurrence afforded her an opportunity of turning the public indignation from herself, and directing it against the Congregation. She did not fail to improve it with her usual address. Having assembled the nobility, she magnified the accidental tumult into a dangerous and designed rebellion. To the Catholics she dwelt upon the sacrilegious overthrow of those venerable structures which their ancestors had dedicated to the service of God. To the Protestants who had not joined those at Perth, she complained of the destruction of the Royal foundation of the Charter-house, protested that she had no intention of offering violence to their consciences, and promised her protection, provided they assisted her in punishing those who had been guilty of this violation of public order. Having inflamed the minds of all against them, she advanced to Perth with an army, threatening to lay waste the town with fire and sword, and to inflict the most exemplary vengeance on all who had been instrumental in producing the riot.\*

\* A writer has given the name of "*bellum imaginarium*" to this war, undertaken by the Regent to avenge the destruction of the images and altars, and the crimes charged upon the congrega-

The protestants of the North were not insensible of their danger, and did all in their power to appease the rage of the queen. They wrote to her, to the commanders of the French troops, to the popish nobles, and to those of their own persuasion : they solemnly disclaimed all rebellious intentions ; they protested their readiness to yield all due obedience to the government ; they obtested and admonished all to refrain from offering violence to peaceable subjects, who sought only the liberty of their consciences. But finding all their endeavours fruitless, they resolved not to suffer themselves and their brethren to be massacred, and prepared for a defence of the town against an illegal and furious assault. So prompt and vigorous were their measures, that the regent, when she approached, deemed it imprudent to attack them, and proposed overtures of accommodation, to which they readily acceded.\*

While the two armies lay before Perth, and negotiations were going on between them, our Reformer obtained an interview with the prior of St. Andrews and the young earl of Argyle, who adhered to the regent ; he reminded them of the solemn engagements which they had contracted, and charg-

tion, he denominates “mere *imaginaria* seditio et rebellio.” *Historie of the Church of Scotland to 1566.* MS. Adv. Lib. A. 5. 43.

\* When the overtures were proposed to the congregation, they exclaimed with one voice ; “Cursit be they that seik effusioun of blude, weir, or dissentioun. Lat us possess Christ Jesus, and the benefite of his evangell, and naye within Scotland sall be mair obedient subjectis than we sall be.” Knox, *Historie*, p. 137. When the armies lay before Perth, the regent’s army consisted of 8000, that of the congregation of 5000 men. This seems to have been the number of the latter, previous to the arrival of the earl of Glencairn, with a reinforcement from the West. Glencairn had joined them before the conclusion of the treaty, a circumstance which did not alter their pacific wishes. *Cald. MS.* i. 126.

ed them with violating these, by abetting measures which tended to the suppression of the reformed religion, and the enslaving of their native country. The noblemen assured him that they held their engagements sacred; the regent had requested them to use their best endeavours to bring the present differences to an amicable termination; if, however, she violated the present treaty, they promised, that they would no longer adhere to her, but would openly take part with the rest of the congregation. The queen was not long in affording them the opportunity of verifying this promise.

Convinced, by numerous proofs, that the queen regent had formed a systematical plan for suppressing the Reformation, the lords of the Congregation renewed their bond of union, and concerted measures for counteracting her designs. For a full account of the interesting struggle that ensued, which was interrupted by treaties artfully proposed and perfidiously violated by the regent, and at last broke out into an open, though not very bloody, civil war, I must refer to the general histories of the period. The object of the present work does not admit of entering into a detail of this, except in as far as our Reformer was immediately engaged in it, or as may be requisite for illustrating his conduct.

The protestant leaders had frequently supplicated the regent, to employ her authority and influence for removing those corruptions in religion, which could no longer be palliated or concealed. They had made the same application to the clergy, but without success. "To abandon usurped power, to renounce lucrative error, are sacrifices which the virtue of individuals has, on some occasions, offered to truth; but from any society of men no such effort can be expected. The corruptions of a society, recom-



mended by common utility, and justified by universal practice, are viewed by its members without shame or horror; and reformation never proceeds from themselves, but is always forced upon them by some foreign hand.”\* The scandalous lives of the clergy, their total neglect of the religious instruction of the people, and the profanation of Christian worship by gross idolatry, were the most glaring abuses. A great part of the nation loudly demanded their correction; and if regular measures had not been adopted for this purpose, the popular indignation would have effected the work. The lords of the Congregation now resolved to introduce a reformation, in those places to which their authority or influence extended, and where the greater part of the inhabitants were friendly, by abolishing the popish superstition, and setting up the protestant worship in its room. The feudal ideas respecting the jurisdiction of the nobility, which at that time prevailed in Scotland, in part justified this step: the urgent and extreme necessity of the case forms its best vindication.

St. Andrews was the place fixed on for beginning these operations. With this view, lord James Stewart, who was prior of the abbey of St. Andrews, and the earl Argyle, made an appointment with Knox to meet them on a certain day, in that city. Travelling along the east coast of Fife, he preached at Anstruther and Crail, and on the 9th of June, came to St. Andrews. The archbishop, apprised of his design to preach in his cathedral, assembled an armed force, and sent information to him, that if he appeared in the pulpit, he would give orders to the soldiers to fire upon him. The noblemen, having met to consult what ought to be done, were of opinion that Knox should desist from preaching at that

\* Dr. Robertson.

time. Their retinue was very slender; they had not yet ascertained the disposition of the town; the queen lay at a small distance with an army, ready to come to the bishop's assistance; and his appearance in the pulpit might lead to the sacrifice of his own life, and the lives of those who were determined to defend him from violence.

There are occasions on which it is a proof of superior wisdom to disregard the ordinary dictates of prudence; on which, to face danger is to evite it, to flee from it, is to incur it. Had the reformers, after announcing their intentions, suffered themselves to be intimidated by the bravading attitude and threats of the archbishop, their cause would, at the very outset, have received a blow, from which it would not easily have recovered. This was prevented by the firmness and intrepidity of Knox. Fired with the recollection of the part which he had formerly acted on that spot, and with the near prospect of realizing the sanguine hopes which he had cherished in his breast for many years, he replied to the solicitations of his brethren: That he could take God to witness, that he never preached in contempt of any man, nor with the design of hurting an earthly creature; but to delay to preach next day (unless forcibly hindered,) he could not in conscience agree: In that town, and in that church, had God first raised him to the dignity of a preacher, and from it he had been *reft* by French tyranny, at the instigation of the Scots bishops: The length of his imprisonment, and the tortures which he had endured, he would not at present recite; but one thing he could not conceal, that, in the hearing of many yet alive, he had expressed his confident hope of again preaching in St. Andrews: Now, therefore, when providence, beyond all men's expectation, had brought

him to that place, he besought them not hinder him. "As for the fear of danger, that may come to me (continued he,) let no man be solicitous; for my life is in the custody of Him whose glory I seek. I desire the hand nor weapon of no man to defend me. I only crave audience; which, if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek where I may have it."

This intrepid reply silenced all further remonstrances; and next day Knox appeared in the pulpit, and preached to a numerous assembly, without meeting with the slightest opposition or interruption. He discoursed on the subject of our Saviour's ejecting the profane traffickers from the temple of Jerusalem; from which he took occasion to expose the enormous corruptions which had been introduced into the church, under the papacy, and to point out what was incumbent upon Christians, in their different spheres, for removing them. On the three following days he preached in the same place; and such was the influence of his doctrine, that the provost, bailies, and inhabitants, harmoniously agreed to set up the reformed worship in the town: the church was stripped of images and pictures, and the monasteries pulled down.

The example of St. Andrews was quickly followed in other parts of the kingdom; and, in the course of a few weeks, at Crail, at Cupar, at Lindores, at Stirling, at Linlithgow, and at Edinburgh, the houses of the monks were overthrown, and all the instruments, which had been employed to foster idolatry and image-worship, were destroyed.\*

\* Letter written by Knox from St. Andrews, 23d June, 1559, apud Cald. MS. i. 426, 428. Historie, p. 140, 141. The demolition of the monasteries at St. Andrews began on the 14th of June.



These proceedings were celebrated in the singular lays, which were at that time circulated among the reformers.

His cardinalles hes cause to mourne,  
 His bishops are borne a backe :  
 His abbots gat an uncouth turne,  
 When shavellinges went to sacke.  
 With burges wifes they led their lives,  
 And fare better than wee.  
 Hay trix, trim goe trix, under the greene wod-tree.

His Carmelites and Jacobinis,  
 His Dominikes had great adoe ;  
 His Cordeilier and Augustines,  
 Sanet Francis's ordour to :  
 The sillie friers, mony yeiris  
 With babling bleerit our ee.  
 Hay trix, &c.

Had not your self begun the weiris,  
 Your stepillis had bene standand yit ;  
 It was the flattering of your friers  
 That ever gart Sanet Francis flit :  
 Ye grew sa superstitious

In wickednesse,  
 It gart us grow malicious  
 Contrair your messe.\*

Scarcely any thing in the progress of the Scottish Reformation has been more frequently or more loudly condemned than the demolition of those edifices, upon which superstition had lavished all the ornaments of the chissel and pencil. To the Roman Catholics, who anathematized all who were engaged in this work of inexpressible sacrilege, and represented it as involving the overthrow of all religion,† have

\* Gude and godly Ballates, apud Dalryell's Scottish Poems of the 15th century, ii. 192, 198.

† The tolbooth of Musselburgh was built out of the ruins of the chapel of Loretto ; on which account the good people of that town were, till lately, annually excommunicated at Rome. Sibbald's

succeeded another race of writers, who, although they do not, in general, make high pretensions to devotion, have not scrupled at times to borrow the language of their predecessors, and have bewailed the wreck of so many precious monuments, in as bitter strains as ever idolater did the loss of his gods. These are the warm admirers of Gothic architecture, and other reliques of ancient art; some of whom, if we may judge from their language, would welcome back the reign of superstition, with all its ignorance and bigotry, if they could recover the objects of their adoration.\* Writers of this stamp depict the devastation and ravages, which marked the progress of the Reformation, in colours as dark, as ever were employed by the historian in describing the overthrow of ancient learning, by the irruptions of the barbarous Huns and Vandals. Our Reformer cannot be mentioned by them without symptoms of horror, and in terms of detestation, as a barbarian, a savage, a ringleader of mobs, for overthrowing whatever was venerable in respect of antiquity, or sacred in respect of religion. It is unnecessary to produce instances.

*Expectes eadem a summo minimoque poeta.*

Chronicle of Scottish Poetry, iii. 19. Those who wish to see a specimen of Catholic declamation on this subject, will find it in note X.

\* The reader may take one example, which I adduce, not because it is the strongest, but because it happens to be at hand. "This abbey [Kelso] was demolished 1569, in consequence of the enthusiastic Reformation, which, in its violence, was a *greater* disgrace to religion than *all the errors* it was intended to subvert. Reformation has hitherto always appeared in the form of a zealot, full of fanatic fury, with violence subduing, but through madness, creating almost as many mischiefs in its oversights, as it overthrows errors in its pursuit. Religion has received a *greater* shock from the present struggle to repress *some formularies* and save *some scruples*, than it ever did by the growth of superstition." Hutchinson's History of Northumberland, and of an Excursion to the Abbey of Melrose, i. 265.

To remind such persons of the divine mandate to destroy all monuments of idolatry in the land of Canaan, would be altogether insufferable, and might provoke, from some of them, a profane attack upon the authority from which it proceeded. To plead the example of the early Christians, in demolishing the temples and statues dedicated to pagan polytheism, would only awaken the keen regrets which are felt for the irreparable loss.\* It would be still worse to refer to the apocalyptic predictions, which some have been so fanatical as to think were fulfilled in the miserable spoliation of that "Great City," which, under all her revolutions, has so eminently proved the nurse of the arts, and given encouragement to painters, statuaries, and sculptors, to "harpers, and musicians, and pipers, and trumpeters, and craftsmen of whatsoever craft;" who, to this day, have not forgotten their obligations to her, nor ceased to bewail her destruction. In any apology which I make for the reformers, I would rather alleviate than aggravate the distress which is felt for the wreck of so many valuable memorials of antiquity. It has been observed by high authority, that there are certain commodities which derive their principal value from their great rarity, and which, if found in great quantities, would cease to be sought after or prized.† A nobleman of great literary reputation has, indeed, questioned the justness of this observa-

\* "Alas! how little of its former splendour have time and the fanatic rage of the early Christians left to the Roman forum? The covered passage, with a flight of steps, founded by Tarquin the elder, is no more here to shelter us from bad weather, or to serve for the spectators to entertain themselves with *mountebanks* in the market-place." A most deplorable loss, truly! The writer adds, that the statues of the twelve gods are yet standing: no great proof, one would imagine, of the fanatic rage of the Christians. Kotzebue's Travels through Italy, vol. i. p. 200. Lond. 1807.

† Edinburgh Review, vol. iv. p. 348.



tion, as far as respects precious stones and metals.\* But I flatter myself, that the noble author and the learned critic, however much they differ as to public wealth, will agree that the observation is perfectly just, as applied to those commodities which constitute the wealth of the antiquary. With him *rarity* is always an essential requisite. His property, like that of the possessor of the famous Sibylline books, does not decrease in value by the reduction of its quantity, but, after the greater part has been destroyed, becomes still more precious. If the matter be viewed in this light, antiquarians have no reason to complain of the ravages of the reformers, who have left them such valuable remains, and placed them in that very state which awakens in their minds the most lively sentiments of the sublime and beautiful, by reducing them to—*Ruins*.

But to speak seriously, I would not be thought such an enemy to any of the fine arts, as to rejoice at the wanton destruction of their models, ancient or modern, or to vindicate those who, from ignorance or fanatical rage, may have excited the mob to this work. At the same time, I must reprobate that spirit which disposes persons to magnify irregularities, and dwell with unceasing lamentations upon losses,† which, in the view of an enlightened and liberal mind, will sink and disappear, in the magnitude of the incalculable good which rose from the wreck of the revolution. What! do we celebrate, with public rejoicings, victories over the enemies of our country, in the gaining of which, the lives of thousands of our fellow-creatures have been sacrificed? and shall solemn masses and sad dirges, accompanied with direful execrations, be everlastingly

\* Lord Lauderdale's Observations on Edinburgh Review.

† The ravages charged upon the reformers. and the losses sustained, have been greatly exaggerated. See Note Y.

sung, for the mangled members of statues, torn pictures, and ruined towers? I will go farther, and say, that I look upon the destruction of these monuments as a piece of good policy, which contributed materially to the overthrow of the Roman Catholic religion, and the prevention of its re-establishment. It was chiefly by the magnificence of temples, and the splendid apparatus of its worship, that the popish church fascinated the senses and imaginations of the people. There could not, therefore, be a more successful method of attacking it than the demolition of these. There is more wisdom, than many seem to perceive, in the maxim, which Knox is said to have inculcated, “that the best way to keep the *rooks* from returning, was to pull down their *nests*.” In demolishing, or rendering uninhabitable all those buildings which had served for the maintainance of the ancient superstition (except what were requisite for the protestant worship,) the reformers only acted upon the principles of a prudent general, who razes the castles and fortifications which he is unable to keep, and which might afterwards be seized, and employed against him, by the enemy. Had they been allowed to remain, the popish clergy would not have ceased to indulge hopes, and to make efforts to be restored to them; occasions would have been taken to tamper with the credulous, and inflame the minds of the superstitious; and the reformers might soon have found reason to repent their ill-judged forbearance.

———When we had quelled  
The strength of Aztlan, we should have thrown down  
Her altars, cast her idols to the fire.

———The priests combined to save their craft;  
And soon the rumour ran of evil signs  
And tokens; in the temple had been heard  
Wailings and loud lament; the eternal fire  
Gave dismally a dim and doubtful flame:

And from the censer, which at morn should steam  
 Sweet odours to the sun, a foetid cloud,  
 Black and portentous rose.——

Southey's *Madoc*. part i. b. ii.

Our Reformer continued at St. Andrews till the end of June, when he came to Edinburgh, from which the Regent and her forces had retired. The protestants in this city fixed their eyes upon him, and chose him immediately for their minister. He accordingly entered upon that charge; but the Lords of the Congregation having soon after concluded a treaty with the regent, by which they delivered up Edinburgh to her, they judged it unsafe for him to remain there, on account of the extreme personal hostility with which the papists were inflamed against him. Willock, as being less obnoxious to them, was therefore substituted in his place, while he undertook a tour of preaching through the kingdom.\* This itineracy had great influence in extending the reformed interest. The wide field which was before him, the interesting situation in which he was placed, the dangers by which he was surrounded, and the hopes which he cherished, increased the ardour of his zeal, and stimulated him to extraordinary exertions both of body and mind. Within less than two months, he travelled over the greater part of Scotland. He visited Kelso, and Jedburgh, and Dumfries, and Ayr, and Stirling, and Perth, and Brechin, and Montrose, and Dundee, and returned again to St. Andrews. The attention of the nation was aroused; their eyes were opened to the errors by which they had been deluded; and they panted for the word of life which they had once tasted.† I cannot better describe the emo-

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 158.

† *Cald. MS.* i. 472, 473. *Forbes*, i. 131, 155. *Sadler*, i. 431, 432.



in their favour, but feared that they would have cause to "repent the drift of time, when the remedy shall not be so easy."\*

This is the only instance in which I have found our Reformer recommending anything like dissimulation, which was very foreign to the openness of his natural temper, and the blunt and rigid honesty which marked all his actions. His own opinion was, that the English court ought from the first to have done what they found themselves obliged at last to do, to declare openly their resolution to support the Congregation. Keith praises Croft's "just reprimand on Mr. Knox's double-fac'd proposition," and Cecil says, that his "audacite was well tamed." We must not, however, imagine that either of these statesmen had any scruple of conscience or honour on the point. For, on the very day on which Croft answered Knox's letter, he wrote to Cecil that he thought the queen ought openly to take part with the Congregation. And in the same letter in which Cecil speaks of Knox's audacity, he advises Croft to a material adoption of the measure which he had recommended, though in a more plausible shape, by sending five or six officers, who should "steal from thence with appearance of displeasure for lack of interteynment;" and in a subsequent letter, he gives directions to send three or four fit for being captains, who should give out that they left Berwick, "as men desyrous to be exercised in the warres, rather than to lye idely in that towne."†

\* Keith, Ap. 40—42. Sadler, i. p. 523. In fact, if a storm had not dispersed and shattered the French fleet, which had on board the Marquis D'Elfeuf, and a large body of French troops, destined for the reinforcement of the queen regent of Scotland, the English, after so long delay, would have found it very difficult to expel the French from Scotland.

† Sadler, i. 522, 534. 568.

Notwithstanding the prejudice which existed in the English court against our Reformer,\* on account of his "audacity" in attacking female prerogative, they were too well acquainted with his integrity and influence to decline his services. Cecil kept up a correspondence with him; and in the directions sent from London for the management of the subsidy, it was expressly provided, that he should be one of the council for examining the receipts and payments, to see that it was applied to the common action, and not to any private use.†

In the mean time, his zeal and activity, in the cause of the Congregation, exposed him to the deadly resentment of the queen regent and the papists. A reward was publicly offered to the person who should seize or kill him; and numbers, actuated by hatred or avarice, lay in wait for his apprehension. But he was not deterred by this from appearing in public, nor from travelling through the country, in the discharge of his duty. His exertions at this period were incredibly great. By day he was employed in preaching, by night in writing letters on public business. He was the soul of the Congre-

\* The lords of the Congregation having proposed to send our Reformer to London as one of their commissioners, Cecil found it necessary to discourage the proposal. "Of all others, Knoxees name, if it be not Goodman's is most odiose here; and therefore, I wish no mention of him [coming] hither." And in another letter he says; "his writings [*i. e.* Knox's letters] doo no good here; and therefore I doo rather suppress them, and yet I meane not but that ye should contynue in sending of them." Sadler, i. 532, 535. The editor of Sadler supposes, without any reason, that Knox and Goodman were obnoxious to the court on account of their Geneva discipline, and republican tenets. They had both been guilty of one offence, and that a very different one. I shall afterwards have occasion to notice the prosecution to which Goodman was subjected for this, upon his return to England.

† Sadler, i. 540. Keith, Ap. 40.

gation; was always present at the post of danger; and by his presence, his public discourses, and private advices, animated the whole body, and defeated the schemes employed to corrupt and disunite them.\*

Our Reformer was now called to take a share in a very delicate and important measure. When they first had recourse to arms in their own defence, the lords of the Congregation had no intention of making any alteration in the government, nor of assuming the exercise of the supreme authority.† Even after they had adopted a more regular and permanent system of resistance to the measures of the regent, they continued to recognize the station which she held, presented petitions to her, and listened respectfully to the proposals which she made, for removing the grounds of variance. But finding

\* “In twenty-four hours, I have not four free to natural rest, and ease of this wicked carcass. Remember my last request for my mother, and say to Mr. George [Mr. George Bowes, his brother-in-law] that I have need of a good and an assured horse; for great watch is laid for my apprehension, and large money promissed till any that shall kyll me.—And this part of my care now poured in your bosom, I cease farther to trouble you, being troubled myself in body and spirit, for the troubles that be present, and appear to grow.—At mydnight.

Many things I have to writ, which now tym suffereth not but after, if ye mak haste with this messinger, ye shall undirstand more. R            ryt            I write with            sleaping eis.”  
Knox’s Letter to Raylton, 23d October, 1559. Keith, Ap. 38. Sadler, i. 681, 682.

The letter, written with the Reformer’s own hand, is in the British Museum. Cotton MSS. Calig. B. ix. f. 38. The conclusion of the letter, which is here printed in imitation of the original, is very descriptive of the state of the writer at the time.—It appears from the same letter, that, amidst his other employments, he had already begun and made considerable progress in his History of the Reformation.

† See Note AA.



that she was fully bent upon the execution of her plan for subverting the national liberties, and that the title which she held gave her great advantages in carrying on this design, they began to deliberate upon the propriety of adopting a different line of conduct. Their sovereigns were minors, in a foreign country, and under the management of persons who had been the principal instruments in producing all the evils of which they complained. The queen dowager held the regency by the authority of Parliament; and might she not be deprived of it by the same authority? In the present state of the country, it was impossible for a free and regular Parliament to meet; but the greater and better part of the nation had declared their dissatisfaction with her administration; and was it not competent for them to provide for the public safety which was exposed to such imminent danger? These were questions which formed the topic of frequent conversation at this time.

After much deliberation on this important point, a numerous assembly of nobles, barons, and representatives of boroughs met at Edinburgh on the 21st of October, to bring it to a solemn issue. To this assembly Knox and Willock were called; and the question being stated to them, they were required to deliver their opinions as to the lawfulness of the measure. Willock, who officiated as minister of Edinburgh, being first asked, declared it to be his judgment, founded upon reason and scripture, that the power of rulers was limited; that they might be deprived of it upon valid grounds; and that the queen regent having, by the fortification of Leith, and the introduction of foreign troops, evinced a fixed determination to oppress and enslave the kingdom, might justly be deprived of her authority, by the nobles and barons, the native counsellors of the

realm, whose petitions and remonstrances she had repeatedly rejected. Knox assented to the opinion delivered by his brother, and added, that the assembly might, with safe consciences, act upon it, provided they attended to the three following things, first, that they did not suffer the misconduct of the queen regent to alienate their affections from due allegiance to their sovereigns, Francis and Mary; second, that they were not actuated in the measure by private hatred or envy of the queen dowager, but by regard to the safety of the commonwealth; and, third, that any sentence which they might pronounce at this time should not preclude her re-admission to the office, if she afterwards discovered sorrow for her conduct, and a disposition to submit to the advice of the counsellors of the realm. After this, the whole assembly, having severally delivered their opinions, did by a solemn deed, suspend the queen dowager from her authority as regent of the kingdom, until the meeting of a free parliament;\* and, in the interval, elected a council for the management of public affairs.†

The preachers have been blamed for interposing their advice on this question, as incompetent to persons of their character, and exposing them to unne-

\* Dr. Robertson says, "It was the work but of one day to examine and resolve this nice problem, concerning the behaviour of subjects towards a ruler who abuses his power." But it may be observed, that this was but the formal determination of the question. It had been discussed among the protestants frequently before this meeting, and, as early as the beginning of September, they were nearly unanimous about it. Sadler. i. 433. It should also be noticed, that the queen was only *suspended* from, not absolutely "deprived of her office."

† Knox, 182—187. Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway (who had embraced the Reformation,) Knox, Goodman, and Willock, were appointed to be on the council, for matters of religion. Sadler, i. 510, 511.

cessary odium.\* But it is not easy to see how they could have been excused in refusing to deliver their opinion, when required by those who had submitted to their ministry, upon a measure which involved a case of conscience, as well as a question of law and political right. The advice which was actually given and followed is a matter of greater consequence, than the quarter from which it came. As this proceeded upon principles very different from those which produced resistance to princes, and the limitation of their authority, under feudal governments, and as our Reformer has been the object of much animadversion for inculcating these principles, the reader will pardon another digression from the narrative.

✓ Among the various causes which effected the general state of society and government in Europe, during the middle ages, we are particularly led to notice the influence of religion. Debased by ignorance and fettered by superstition, the minds of men were prepared to acquiesce without examination in the claims of authority, and to submit tamely to every yoke. The genius of popery is in every view friendly to slavery. The Romish court, while it aimed directly at the establishment of a spiritual despotism in the hands of ecclesiastics, contributed to rivet the chains of political servitude upon the people. In return for the support which princes yielded to its arrogant claims, it was content to invest them with an absolute authority over the bodies of their subjects. By the priestly unction performed at the coronation of kings in the name of the Holy See, a sacred character was understood to be communicated, which raised them to a superiori-

\* Spottiswood, p. 137. Keith, 104.



ty over their nobility which they did not formerly possess, rendered their persons inviolable, and their office divine. Although the sovereign pontiffs claimed, and on different occasions, exercised the power of dethroning kings, and absolving subjects from their allegiance, yet any attempt of this kind, when it proceeded from the people themselves, was denounced as a crime deserving the severest punishment in this world, and damnation in the next. Hence sprung the divine right of kings to rule independently of their people, and of passive obedience and non-resistance to their will; under the sanction of which they were encouraged to sport with the lives and happiness of their subjects, and to indulge in the most tyrannical and wanton acts of oppression, without the dread of resistance, or of being called to an account. Even in countries where the people were understood to enjoy certain political privileges, transmitted from remote ages, or wrested from their princes on some favourable occasions (as in England,) these principles were generally prevalent; and it was easy for an ambitious and powerful monarch to avail himself of them, to violate the rights of the people with impunity, and upon a constitution, the forms of which were friendly to popular liberty, to establish an administration completely despotic and arbitrary.

The contest between Papal sovereignty and the authority of General Councils, which was carried on during the fifteenth century, struck out some of the radical principles of liberty, which were afterwards applied to political government. The revival of learning, by unfolding the principles of legislation and modes of government in the republics of ancient Greece and Rome, gradually led to more liberal notions on this subject. But these were confined to a few, and had no influence upon the general

state of society. The spirit infused by philosophy and literature is too feeble and contracted to produce a radical reform of established abuses ; and learned men satisfied with their own superior illumination, and the liberty of indulging their speculations, have generally been too indifferent or too timid to attempt the improvement of the multitude. It is to the religious spirit excited during the sixteenth century, which spread rapidly through Europe and diffused itself among all classes of men, that we are chiefly indebted for the propagation of the genuine principles of rational liberty, and the consequent amelioration of government.

Civil and ecclesiastical tyranny were so closely combined, that it was impossible for men to emancipate themselves from the latter without throwing off the former ; and from arguments which established their religious rights, the transition was easy, and almost unavoidable, to disquisitions about their civil privileges. In those kingdoms in which the rulers threw off the Romish yoke, and introduced the Reformation by their authority, the influence was more imperceptible and slow ; and in some of them, as in England, the power taken from the ecclesiastical was thrown into the regal scale, which proved in so far prejudicial to popular liberty. But where the Reformation was embraced by the body of a nation, while the ruling powers continued to oppose it, the effect was visible and immediate. The interested and obstinate support which rulers gave to the old system of error and ecclesiastical tyranny, and their cruel persecution of all who favoured the new opinions, drove their subjects to inquire into the just limits of authority and obedience. Their judgments once informed as to the rights to which they were intitled, and their consciences, satisfied respecting the means which they might employ to acquire

them, the immense importance of the immediate object in view, their emancipation from religious bondage, and the salvation of themselves and their posterity, impelled them to make the attempt with an enthusiasm and perseverance which the mere love of civil liberty could not have inspired.

In effecting that memorable revolution, which terminated in favour of religious and political liberty in so many nations of Europe, the public teachers of the protestant doctrine had a principal influence. By their instructions and exhortations, they roused the people to consider their rights and exert their power; they stimulated timid and wary politicians; they encouraged and animated princes, nobles, and confederated states, with their armies, against the most formidable opposition, and under the most overwhelming difficulties, until their exertions were crowned with the most signal success. These facts are now admitted, and this honour at last, through the force of truth, conceded to the religious leaders of the protestant Reformation, by philosophical writers, who had too long branded them as ignorant and fanatical.\*

Our national Reformer had caught a large portion of the spirit of civil liberty. We have already adverted to the circumstance in his education which directed his attention, at an early period, to some of its principles.† His subsequent studies introduced him to acquaintance with the maxims and modes of government in the free states of antiquity; and it is reasonable to suppose that his intercourse with the republics of Switzerland and Geneva had some influence on his political creed. Having formed his

\* Villers's Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther, Mill's Translation, p. 183, 186, 321, 327.

† See above, p. 7—9.



sentiments independent of the prejudices arising from established laws, long usage, and commonly received opinions, his zeal and intrepidity prompted him to avow and propagate them, when others, less sanguine and resolute, would have been restrained by fear, or despair of success.\* Extensive observation had convinced him of the glaring perversion of government in the most of the European kingdoms. But his principles led him to desire their reform, not their subversion. His admiration of the policy of republics, ancient or modern, was not so great or indiscriminate as to prevent him from separating the essential principles of equity and freedom which they contained, from others which were incompatible with monarchy. He was perfectly sensible of the necessity of regular government to the maintenance of justice and order among mankind, and aware of the danger of setting men loose from its salutary restraints. He uniformly inculcated, a conscientious obedience to the lawful commands of rulers, and respect to their persons as well as to their authority, even when they were chargeable with various mismanagements ; as long as they did not break through all the restraints of law and justice, and cease to perform the essential duties of their office.

But he held that rulers, supreme as well as subordinate, were invested with authority for the public good ; that obedience was not due to them in any thing contrary to the divine law ; that, in every free and well constituted government, the law of the land was superior to the will of the prince, and that inferior magistrates and subjects might restrain the supreme magistrate from particular illegal acts, with-

\* "I prais my God (said he) I have not learned to cry conjuration and tresoun at every thing that the godles multitude does condemn, neither yet to fear the things that they fear." Conference with Murray and Maitland, *Historie*, p. 339.

out throwing off their allegiance, or being guilty of rebellion; that no class of men have an original, inherent, and indefeasible right to rule over a people, independently of their will and consent; that a nation have a right to provide and require that they be ruled by laws, agreeing with the divine, and calculated to promote their welfare; that there is a mutual compact, tacit and implied, if not formal and explicit, between rulers and their subjects; and if the former shall flagrantly violate this, employ that power for the destruction of a commonwealth, which was committed to them for its preservation and benefit; in one word, if they shall become habitual tyrants and notorious oppressors, that the people are absolved from allegiance, have a right to resist them, formally to depose them from their place, and to elect others in their room.

The real power of the Scottish kings was, indeed, always limited, and there are in our history, previous to the æra of the Reformation, many instances of resistance to their authority. But, though these were pleaded as precedents on this occasion, it must be confessed that we cannot trace them to the principles of genuine liberty. They were the effect, either of sudden resentment on account of some flagrant act of mal-administration, of the ambition of some powerful baron, or of the jealousy with which the feudal aristocracy watched over the prerogatives of their order. The people who followed the standards of their chiefs had little interest in the struggle, and derived no benefit from the limitations which were imposed upon their sovereign. But, at this time, more just and enlarged sentiments were diffused through the nation, and the idea of a commonwealth, including the mass of the people as well as the privileged orders began to be entertained. Our Reformer, whose notions of hereditary right, whe-

ther in kings or nobles, were not exalted, studied to repress the insolence and oppression of the nobles, he reminded them of the original equality of men and the ends for which some were raised above others; and he taught the people that they had rights to preserve, as well as duties to perform.\*

Such, in substance, were the political sentiments of our Reformer. With respect to female government he never moved any question among his countrymen, nor attempted to gain proselytes to his opinion. But the principles just stated were strenuously inculcated by him, and acted upon in Scotland in more than one instance during his life. That they should, at that period, have exposed those who held them to the charge of treason from despotical rulers and their numerous satellites; that they should have been regarded with a suspicious eye by some of the learned, who had not altogether thrown off common prejudices, in an age when the principles of political liberty were only beginning to be understood,—is not much to be wondered at. But it must excite both surprize and indignation, to find writers, in the present enlightened age, and under the sunshine of British liberty (if our sun is not fast going down,) expressing their abhorrence of these sentiments, and exhausting upon their authors all the invective and virulence of the former *Anti-monarchomachi*, and advocates of passive obedience. They are *essentially* the principles upon which the free constitution of Britain rests; the most obnoxious of them was reduced to practice at the memorable æra of the Revolution, when the necessity of employing them was not more urgent or unquestionable, than it was at the suspension of the

\* The authorities for this statement of Knox's political opinions will be found in Note BB.



queen regent of Scotland, and the subsequent sequestration of her daughter.

I have said *essentially*: for I would not be understood as meaning, that every proposition advanced by Knox, on this subject, is expressed in the most guarded and unexceptionable manner, or that all the cases, in which he was led to vindicate forcible resistance to rulers, were such as rendered it necessary, and may be pleaded as precedents in modern times. The political doctrines maintained at that time received a tincture from the spirit of the age, and were accommodated to a rude and unsettled state of society and government. The checks which have since been introduced into the constitution, and the influence which public opinion, expressed by the organ of a free press, has upon the conduct of rulers, are sufficient, in ordinary cases, to restrain dangerous encroachments, or afford the means of correcting them in a peaceable way; and have thus happily superseded the necessity of having recourse to those desperate but decisive remedies which were formerly applied by an oppressed and indignant people. But if ever the time come when these principles shall be generally renounced and abjured, the extinction of the boasted liberty of Britain will not be far off.

Those who judge of the propriety of any measure from the success with which it is accompanied, will be disposed to condemn the suspension of the queen regent. Soon after this step was taken, the affairs of the Congregation began to wear a gloomy appearance. The messenger whom they had sent to Berwick to receive a remittance from the English court, was intercepted on his return, and rifled of the treasure; their soldiers mutinied for want of pay; they were repulsed in a premature assault upon the forti-

fications of Leith, and worsted in a skirmish with the French troops ; the secret emissaries of the regent were too successful among them ; their numbers daily decreased ; and the remainder disunited, dispirited, and dismayed, came to the resolution of abandoning Edinburgh on the evening of the 5th of November, and retreated with precipitation and disgrace to Stirling.

Amidst the universal dejection produced by these disasters, the spirit of Knox remained unsubdued. On the day after their arrival at Stirling, he mounted the pulpit, and delivered a discourse, which had a wonderful effect in rekindling the zeal and courage of the Congregation. Their faces (he said) were confounded, their enemies triumphed, their hearts had quaked for fear, and still remained oppressed with sorrow and shame. What was the cause for which God had thus dejected them ? The situation of their affairs required plain language, and he would use it. In the present distressed state of their minds, they were in danger of fixing upon an erroneous cause of their misfortunes, and of imagining that they had offended in taking the sword of self-defence into their hands ; just as the tribes of Israel did when twice discomfited in the war which they undertook, by divine direction, against their brethren the Benjamites. Having divided the Congregation into two classes, those who had been embarked in this cause from the beginning, and those who had lately acceded to it,\* he proceeded to point out what he considered as blameable in the conduct of each ; and after exhorting all to

\* Some time before this, the earl of Arran, having escaped from France, (where his life was in imminent danger, on account of his attachment to the reformed doctrine,) and come into Scotland, persuaded his father, the Duke of Chastelherault, to join the Congregation, who was followed by the most of his retainers. The Duke was considered as the president or chief person

amendment of life, prayers, and works of charity, he concluded with an animating address. God (he said) often suffered the wicked to triumph for a while, and exposed his chosen congregation to mockery, dangers, and apparent destruction, in order to abase their self-confidence, and induce them to look to him for deliverance and victory. If they turned unfeignedly to the Eternal, he no more doubted that their present distress would be converted into joy, and followed by success, than he doubted that Israel was finally victorious over the Benjamites, after being twice repulsed with ignominy. The cause in which they were engaged would, in spite of all opposition, prevail in Scotland. It was the eternal truth of the eternal God which they maintained ; it might be oppressed for a time, but would ultimately triumph.

The audience who had entered the church in deep despondency left it with renovated courage. In the afternoon the council met, and after prayer by the Reformer, unanimously agreed to dispatch Maitland to London to supplicate more effectual assistance from Elizabeth. In the mean time, as they were unable to keep the field, they resolved to divide, and that the one half of the council should remain at Glasgow, and the other at St. Andrews. Knox was appointed to attend the latter. The French having, in the beginning of the year 1560, penetrated into Fife, he encouraged that small band, which, under the earl of Arran, and the prior of St. in the reformed council, and was present at the sermon. That part of the discourse which related to his conduct, is a striking specimen of that boldness and freedom with which the preacher reproved the faults of the most powerful, a freedom which, on the present occasion, does not seem to have given any offence. Knox has preserved in his History, (p. 194—197,) the principal topics on which he insisted in this sermon, which has been praised both by Buchanan and Robertson.



Andrews, bravely resisted their progress, until the appearance of the English fleet, obliged them to make a precipitate retreat.\*

The disaster which caused the protestant army to leave Edinburgh, turned out to the advantage of their cause. It obliged the English court to abandon the line of cautious policy which they had hitherto pursued. On the 27th of February, 1560, they concluded a formal treaty with the lords of the Congregation; and, in the beginning of April, the English army entered Scotland. The French troops retired within the fortifications of Leith, and were invested by sea and land; the queen regent died in the castle of Edinburgh during the siege; and the ambassadors of France were forced to agree to a treaty, by which it was provided, that the French troops should be removed from Scotland, an amnesty granted to all who had been engaged in the late resistance to the measures of the regent, their principal grievances redressed, and a free parliament called to settle the other affairs of the kingdom.†

During the continuance of the civil war, while the protestant preachers were assiduous in disseminating the knowledge of the truth through all parts of the kingdom, the popish clergy used no exertions to counteract them. Too corrupt to think of reforming their manners, too illiterate to be capable of defending their errors,‡ they placed their forlorn hope

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 197, 201, 215. Spottiswood, p. 140.

† Leith, p. 131—144. Knox, 229—234. Spottiswood, p. 147—149. The treaty was signed by the deputies on the 6th July, 1560.

‡ The French court sent into Scotland the bishop of Amiens, who was invested with the title of papal legate, and three doctors of the Sorbonne, who gave out that they had come to confound the heretics, and bring back the erring Scots to the bosom of the church, by the force of argument and persuasion. Lesley boasts of their success; but it appears that these foreign divines

upon the success of the French arms, and looked forward to the issue of the contest, as involving the establishment or the ruin of their religion. One attempt they, indeed, made to recover their lost reputation, and support their sinking cause, by reviving the stale pretence of miracles wrought at the shrines of their saints.\* But the detection of the imposture exposed them to derision, and was the occasion of their losing a person, who, by his learning and integrity, was the greatest ornament of their party.†

The treaty, which put an end to hostilities, made no settlement respecting religious differences; but, on that very account, it was fatal to popery.‡ The

instead of disputing with the heretics, confined themselves to the more easy task of instructing the Scottish clergy in the canonical method of purifying the churches which had been polluted by the profane worship of the protestants. Spottiswood, 133, 134. Keith, 102. Sadler says that the bishop came “to curse, and also to dispute with the protestants, and to reconcile them, if it wolbe.” Vol. i. 470.

\* The farce referred to was acted at the chapel of Lorretto, near Musselburgh (during the course of the year 1559,) in the presence of a great concourse of people, collected by previous intimation from different parts of the country to witness it. A young man, said to have been blind from his youth, was brought upon the stage by the priests and friars, who, after performing a number of ceremonies, accompanied with prayers, restored him to the use of his sight, to the astonishment of the spectators. A gentleman of Fife, who happened to be present at the time, suspecting the fraud, persuaded the young man to follow him, and drew from him the secret, that he had counterfeited blindness at the desire of the friars; which the gentleman immediately published in the most open manner. Row’s MS. Historie, p. 356, of a copy transcribed anno 1726. A full account of the pretended miracle and its detection was inserted in the Weekly Magazine for June 1772, which has been lately republished in Scott’s History of the Scottish Reformers, p. 159—162.

† This was Mr. John Row, of whom I shall afterwards have occasion to speak more particularly.

‡ The English ambassadors, in a letter to Elizabeth, say:

power was left in the hands of the protestants. The Roman Catholic worship was almost universally deserted through the kingdom, except in those places which had been occupied by the regent and her foreign auxiliaries ; and no provision was made for its restoration. The firm hold which it once had of the opinions and affections of the people was completely loosened ; it was supported by force alone ; and the moment that the French troops embarked, that fabric, which had stood for ages in Scotland, fell to the ground. Its feeble and dismayed priests ceased, of their own accord, from the celebration of its rites ; and the reformed service was peaceably set up, wherever ministers could be found to perform it. The parliament, when it met, had little else to do respecting religion, than to sanction what the nation had previously adopted.

Thus did the reformed religion advance in Scotland, from small beginnings, and amidst great opposition, until it attained a legal establishment. Besides the secret benediction which accompanied the labours of the preachers and confessors of the truth, the serious and inquisitive reader will trace the hand of Providence, in that concatenation of events which contributed to its rise, preservation, and increase ; in the over-ruling of the caprice, the ambition, the avarice, and the interested policy of princes and ca-

“ Two things have bene to whott (too hot) for the French to meddle withal ; and therefore they be passed, and *left as they found them*. The first is the matter of *religion*, which is here as freely, and rather more earnestly (as I the Secretary thynk) receaved than in England : a hard thyng now to alter, as it is planted.” Haynes, p. 352. Dr. Wotton, Dean of Windsor, is one of the subscribers of this letter ; but as it would rather have been too much for him to say that religion was *more* earnestly received in Scotland than in England, the Secretary alone vouches for that fact.



binets, many of whom had nothing less in view than to favour that cause, which they were so instrumental in promoting.

The breach of Henry VIII. of England with the Romish See, awakened the attention of the inhabitants of the northern part of the island to a controversy, which had hitherto been carried on at too great a distance to interest them, and led not a few to desire a reformation more improved than the model which he had held out to them. The premature death of James V. of Scotland was favourable to these views; and during the short period in which they received the countenance of civil authority, at the commencement of Arran's regency, the seeds of the reformed doctrine were so widely spread, and had taken such deep root, as to be able to resist the violent measures which the regent, after his recantation, employed to extirpate them. Those who were driven from the country by persecution found an asylum in England, under the decidedly protestant government of Edward VI. After his death, the alliance of England with Spain, and of Scotland with France, the two great contending powers on the continent, prevented any concert between the two courts which might have proved fatal to the protestant religion in Britain. While the cruelties of the English queen drove preachers into Scotland, the political schemes of the queen regent induced her to favour the protestants, and connive at the propagation of their opinions. At the critical moment when she had accomplished her favourite designs, and was preparing to crush the Reformation, Elizabeth ascended the throne of England, who, from motives of policy no less than religion, was inclined to Support the Scottish reformers. The princes of Lorrain, who, by the accession of Fran-

cis II. had obtained the sole direction of the French court, were resolutely bent on their suppression, and being at peace with Spain, seemed to have it in their power to turn the whole force of the empire against them; but at this very time, those intestine dissensions, which continued so long to desolate France, broke out, and forced them to accede to that treaty, which put an end to the French influence, and Roman Catholic religion, in Scotland.

## PERIOD VI.

FROM HIS SETTLEMENT AS MINISTER OF EDINBURGH,  
AT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REFORMATION, ANNO  
1560, TO HIS ACQUITTAL, FROM A CHARGE OF TREASON,  
BY THE PRIVY COUNCIL, ANNO 1563.

IN the assignation of ministers to the different parts of the kingdom, a measure which engaged the attention of the protestants immediately after the proclamation of peace, the temporary arrangements formerly made were, in general, confirmed; and our Reformer resumed his station as minister of Edinburgh. During the month of August, he was employed in composing the protestant Confession of Faith, which was presented to the Parliament, who ratified it,\* and abolished the papal jurisdiction and worship.

The organization of the reformed church was not yet completed. Hitherto *The Book of Common*

\* When the confession was read in Parliament, all who had any objections to it were called upon to state them, and ample liberty allowed them. The protestant ministers were in the house, standing prepared to defend it. Another day was appointed, on which it was read article by article. The earl of Athole, with lords Somerville and Borthwick, were the only persons who voted against it, assigning this truly catholic reason, *We will beleve as our forefathers belevit*. "The bishopsis spak nothing." The earl Marischal protested, that if any of the ecclesiastical estate afterwards opposed this confession, they should not be entitled to credit, but be regarded as seeking their own commodity, and not the truth, seeing, after long advisement, they could make no objection to it. Knox, 253, 254. Spottiswood, 150. Keith is at a great loss to account for, and excuse the silence of the popish dignitaries (to whom he is uniformly partial;) and he was obliged to retract one apology which he had made for them, viz. that they were hindered from speaking by threatenings. History, p. 449, 450, 488, note (a.)



*Order*, agreed upon by the English church at Geneva, had been chiefly followed as a directory for worship and government. But this having been compiled for the use of a single congregation (composed too, for the most part, of men of education,) was found inadequate for an extensive church, consisting of a multitude of confederated congregations. Sensible of the great importance of ecclesiastical polity, for the maintenance of order, the preservation of purity of doctrine and morals, and the general flourishing of religion in the kingdom, our Reformer, at an early period, called the attention of the protestants to this subject, and urged its speedy settlement.\* In consequence of this, the lords of the privy council appointed him, and other five ministers, to draw out such a plan as they judged most agreeable to scripture, and conducive to the advancement of religion. They met accordingly, and with great pains, and much unanimity, formed the book, which was afterwards called *The First Book of Discipline*.†

As our Reformer had a chief hand in the compilation of this book, and the subject is interesting, it

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 237.

† “The ministers (says Row) took not their example from any kirk in the world, no, not from Geneva; but laying God’s word before them, made reformation according thereto.” In drawing up this book, the compilers divided the different heads among them. They afterwards met together, and examined them with “great pains, much reading, and meditation, with earnest in calling on the name of God. The book was approved by the General Assembly, after some articles, which were thought too large, were abridged. Row’s *MS. Historie*, p. 12, 16, 17. The assembly referred to was probably the convention mentioned by Knox, (*Historie*, p. 261, 295,) which met 5th Jan. 1561. The first General Assembly appointed a meeting to be held at that time, (*Buik of the Universall Kirk*, p. 3,) but there is no account of its proceedings in any register which I have had access to see.

may not be altogether foreign to the object of the present work, to give a slight sketch of the form and order of the church of Scotland, at the first establishment of the Reformation. Some more minute particulars, which are not generally known, shall be thrown into the notes.

The ordinary and permanent office-bearers of the church were of four kinds : the *minister* or *pastor*, to whom the preaching of the gospel and administration of the sacraments belonged ; the *doctor* or *teacher*, whose province it was to interpret scripture, and confute errors (including those who taught theology in schools and universities ; ) the *ruling elder*, who assisted the minister in exercising ecclesiastical discipline and government ; and the *deacon*, who had the special oversight of the revenues of the church and the poor. But besides these, it was found necessary at that time, to employ some persons in extraordinary and temporary charges. As there were not a sufficient number of ministers to supply the different parts of the country, that the people might not be altogether destitute of public worship and instruction, serious persons were appointed to read the scriptures and the common prayers. These were called *readers*. If they advanced in knowledge, they were encouraged to add a few plain exhortations to the reading of the scriptures. In this case they were called *exhorters* ; but they were examined and admitted, before entering upon this employment.

In the copy of the First Book of Discipline, published (by Calderwood, I believe,) anno 1621, p. 23, 70, and in Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 517, 605, it is said that the order for compiling it was given on the 29th April, 1560 ; and that it was finished by them on the 20th May following. But as the civil war was not then concluded, I am inclined to prefer the account which Knox gives, that it was undertaken subsequent to the meeting of Parliament in August, that year. *Historie*, p. 256.

The same cause gave rise to another temporary, expedient. Instead of fixing all the ministers in particular charges, it was judged proper, after supplying the principal towns, to assign to the rest the superintendence of a large district, over which they were appointed regularly to itinerate, for the purpose of preaching, planting churches, and inspecting the conduct of ministers, exhorters, and readers. These were called *superintendents*. The number originally proposed was ten; but owing to the scarcity of proper persons, or rather the want of necessary funds, there were never more than six appointed. The deficiency was supplied by *commissioners* or *visitors*, appointed from time to time by the General Assembly.

The mode of admission to all these offices was by the free election of the people,\* examination of the candidate, and public admission, accompanied with prayer and exhortation.† The affairs of each congregation were managed by the minister, elders, and deacons, who constituted the *session*, which met once a week, or oftener. There was a meeting called *the weekly exercise*, or *prophesying*, held in every considerable town, consisting of the ministers, exhorters, and learned men in the vicinity, for expounding the scriptures. This was afterwards converted into the *presbytery*, or *classical assembly*. The superintendent met with the ministers and delegated elders of his district, twice a-year in the *provincial synod*, which took cognizance of ecclesiastical affairs within its bounds. And the *general assembly*, which was composed of ministers and elders com-

\* Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 524, 526, 545, 577, 638, 639.

† Imposition of hands at the ordination of ministers was not practised in Scotland at the beginning of the Reformation. It was, however, appointed to be used by the Second Book of Discipline. Dunlop, ii. 529, 768, 769.



missioned from the different parts of the kingdom, met twice, sometimes thrice in the year, and attended to the interests of the whole national church. Public worship was conducted according to the Book of Common Order, with a few variations.\*

The compilers of the First Book of Discipline paid particular attention to the state of education. They required that a school should be erected in every parish, for the instruction of youth in the principles of religion, grammar, and the Latin tongue. They proposed that a college should be erected in every "notable town," in which logic and rhetoric should be taught along with the learned languages. They seem to have had it in their eye to revive the system adopted in some of the ancient republics, in which the youth were considered as the property of the public rather than of their parents, by obliging the nobility and gentry to educate their children, and providing, at the public expence, for the education of the children of the poor who discovered talents for learning. Their regulations for the three national universities discovered an enlightened regard to the interests of literature, and may suggest hints which deserve attention in the present age.† If they were not carried into effect, the blame cannot be imputed to the reformed ministers, but to those persons who, through avarice, defeated the execution of their plans. But even as matters stood, and notwithstanding the confusions in which the country was involved, learning continued to make great progress in Scotland, from this period to the close of the century.

We are ready to form very false and exaggerated notions of the rudeness of our ancestors. Perhaps

\* See Note CC.

† First Book of Discipline, Chap. vii. Dunlop. ii. 547—561.

some of our literati, who entertain such a diminutive idea of the taste and learning of those times, might be surprised, if they could be set down at the table of one of our Scottish reformers, surrounded with a circle of his children and pupils, where the conversation was all carried on in French, and the chapter of the Bible, at family worship, was read by the boys in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and French. Perhaps they might have blushed, if the book had been put into their hands, and they had been required to perform a part of the exercises. It is certain, however, that this was the common practice in the house of *Mr. John Rowe*, minister of Perth, with whom many of the nobility and gentry boarded their children, for their instruction in the Greek and Hebrew languages, the knowledge of which he contributed to spread through the kingdom. Nor was the improvement of our native tongue neglected at this time.\*

Judicious as its plan was, and well adapted to promote the interests of religion and learning in the nation, the Book of Discipline, when presented to the Privy Council, was coldly received, and its formal ratification evaded. This did not arise from any difference of sentiment between them and the ministers respecting ecclesiastical government, but partly from aversion to the strict discipline which it appointed to be exercised against vice, and partly from reluctance to comply with its requisition for the appropriation of the revenues of the popish church to the support of the new religious and literary establishment.† However, it was subscribed by the greater part of the members of the council; and as the grounds of prejudice against it were well known, it was submitted unto by the nation, and carried

\* See Note DD.

† See Note EE.

into effect in all its principal ecclesiastical regulations.\*

The first *General Assembly* of the reformed church of Scotland, sat down at Edinburgh on the 20th of December 1560. It consisted of forty members, only six of whom were ministers.† Knox was one of these; and he continued to sit in most of its meetings until the time of his death. Their deliberations were conducted at first with great simplicity and unanimity. It is a singular circumstance, that they had seven different meetings without a president or moderator. But as the number of members increased, and business became more complicated, a moderator was appointed to be chosen at every meeting; he was invested with authority to maintain order; and regulations were enacted concerning the constituent members of the court, the causes which ought to come before them, and the order of procedure.‡

In the close of this year our Reformer suffered a heavy domestic loss, by the death of his valuable wife, who, after sharing in the hardships of her husband's exile, was removed from him when he had obtained a comfortable settlement for his family.§ He was left with the charge of two young children, in addition to his other cares. His mother-in-law was still with him; but though he took pleasure in her religious company, the dejection of mind to which she was subject, and which all his efforts could never completely cure, rather increased than lightened his burden.|| His acute feelings were severe-

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 256, 257, 295, 296. Keith, 496, 497. Dunlop, ii. 606—608.

† Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 2. MS. Adv. Lib. Keith, 498.

‡ See Note FF. § Knox, *Historie*, p. 260.

|| Preface to a Letter, added to An Answer to a Lettier of a Je-



ly wounded by this stroke; but he endeavoured to moderate his grief by the consolations which he administered to others, and by application to public duties. He had the satisfaction of receiving, on this occasion, a letter from his much respected friend Calvin, in which expressions of great esteem for his deceased partner were mingled with condolence for his loss.\* I may take this opportunity of mentioning, that Knox, with the consent of his brethren, consulted the Genevan reformer upon several difficult questions which occurred respecting the settlement of the Scottish Reformation, and that a number of letters passed between them on this subject.†

Anxieties on a public account were felt by Knox along with his domestic distress. The Reformation had hitherto advanced with a success equal to his most sanguine expectations; and, at this time, no opposition was publicly made to the new establishment. But matters were still in a very critical state. There was a party in the nation, by no means inconsiderable in numbers and power, who remained addicted to popery; and, though they had given way to the torrent, they anxiously waited for an opportunity to embroil the country in another civil war, for the restoration of the ancient religion. Queen Mary, and her husband the king of France, had refused to ratify the late treaty, and had dismissed the deputy, sent by the Parliament, with marks of the highest

suit, named Tyrie, be John Knox.—Sanetandrois—Anno Do. 1572.

\* *Calvini Epistolæ*, p. 150, apud *Oper.* tome ix. "*Viduitas tua mihi, ut debet, tristis et acerba est. Uxorem nactus eras cui non reperiuntur passim similes*," &c. In a letter to Christ. Goodman, written at the same time, Calvin says, "*Fratrem nostrum Knoxum, etsi non parum doleo suavissima uxore fuisse privatum, gaudeo tamen ejus morte non ita fuisse afflictum, quin strenue operam suam Christo et ecclesiæ impendat.*" *Ibid.*

† See Note GG.

displeasure at the innovations which they had presumed to introduce. A new army was preparing in France for the invasion of Scotland against the spring; emissaries were sent, in the mean time, to encourage and unite the Roman Catholics; and it was doubtful if the queen of England would subject herself to new expence and odium, by protecting them against a second attack.\*

The danger was not unperceived by our Reformer, who exerted himself to prepare his countrymen, by impressing their minds with a due sense of it, and exciting them speedily to complete the settlement of religion throughout the kingdom. which he was persuaded, would prove the principal bulwark against the assaults of their adversaries. In the state in which the minds of men then were, his admonitions were listened to by many who had formerly treated them with indifference.† The threatened storm blew over in consequence of the death of the French king; but this necessarily led to a measure which involved the Scottish protestants in a new struggle, and exposed the reformed church to dangers less obvious and striking, but, on that account, not less to be dreaded than open violence and hostility. This was the invitation given by the protestant nobility to their young queen, who, on the 19th of August, 1561, arrived in Scotland, and assumed the reins of government into her own hands.

The education which Mary had received in France, whatever embellishments it added to her beauty, was the very worst which can be conceived, for fitting her to rule her native country, in the present juncture. Of a temper naturally violent, the devotion which

\* Knox, 257, 258. Buchanan, p. 325, 327. Spettiswood, 150, 151. Keith, 154, 157.

† Knox, 260.

she had been accustomed to see paid to her personal charms, rendered her incapable of bearing contradiction.\* Habituated to the splendour and gallantry of the most luxurious and dissolute court in Europe, she could not submit to those restraints which the severe manners of her subjects imposed; and while the freedom of her behaviour gave offence to them, she could not conceal the antipathy and disgust which she felt at theirs.† Full of high notions of royal prerogative, she regarded the late proceedings in Scotland as a course of rebellion against her authority. Every means was employed, before she left France, to strengthen the blind attachment to the Roman Catholic religion, in which she had been nursed from her infancy, and to inspire her with aversion to the religion which had been embraced by her subjects. She was taught that it would be the great glory of her reign to reduce her kingdom to the obedience of the Romish See, and co-operate with the popish princes on the continent in extirpating heresy. If she forsook the religion in which she had been educated, she would forfeit their powerful friendship; if she persevered in it, she might depend upon their assistance to enable her to chastise her rebellious subjects, and prosecute her claims to the English crown against a heretical usurper.

With these fixed prepossessions, Mary came into

\* Mr. Hume's letter, printed in the *Life of Dr. Robertson*, apud *History of Scotland*, vol. i. 25. Lond. 1809. Anderson's *Collections*, vol. iv. part i. p. 71, 72, 74, 79.

† "How sone that ever her French fillokes, fidlars, and utheris of that band gat the hous alone, thair myecht be sene skipping not veray comelie for honest wemen. Her commune talk was in secrete, that seche saw nothing in Scotland bot gravity, quhilk repugned altogidder to her nature, for seche was brocht up in joyeusetie." Knox, *Historie*, p. 294.



Scotland, and she adhered to them with singular pertinacity to the end of her life. To examine the subjects of controversy between the papists and protestants, with the view of ascertaining on what side the truth lay; to hear the preachers, or admit them to state the grounds of their faith, even in the presence of the clergy whom she had brought along with her; to do any thing which might lead to a doubt in her mind respecting the religion in which she had been brought up, she had formed an unalterable determination to avoid. As the protestants were at present in possession of the power, it was necessary for her to temporize; but she resolved to withhold her ratification of the late proceedings, and to embrace the first favourable opportunity to overturn them, and re-establish the ancient system.\*

\* See Throkmorton's conference with Mary, before she left France. Knox, *Historie*, 275—277. Keith, *History*, 164—167. Life of Bishop Lesley, apud Anderson's *Collections*, i. 4. iii. 9. The letters of the Cardinal de St. Croix (ambassador from the Pope to the court of France,) extracted from the Vatican library, afford a striking demonstration of the intentions of the queen. St. Croix writes to Cardinal Borromeo, that the Grand Prior of France (one of Mary's uncles) and Mons. Danville had arrived from Scotland on the 17th November, (1561,) and brought information, that the queen was going on successfully to the surmounting of all opposition to her in that kingdom. Being informed one day that some heretics had extinguished the candles on her altar, she repaired to the chapel, and having ascertained the fact, commanded a baron, one of the most powerful and most addicted to Lutheranism, to re-light the candles, and place them on the altar: in which she was instantly obeyed. After relating another instance of her spirited conduct against the magistrates of a certain borough who had banished the popish priests, the Cardinal adds: "by these means she has acquired greater authority and power, *for enabling her to restore the ancient religion*;" "*con che aquesta tutta via maggior autorita et forze, per posser restituer en quel regno l'antica religione.*" Aymon's *Synodes Nationaux des Eglises Reformees de France*, tom. i. p. 17, 18.

The reception which she met with on her first arrival in Scotland was flattering; but an occurrence which took place soon after, damped the joy which had been expressed, and prognosticated future jealousies and confusion. Resolved to give her subjects an early proof of her firm determination to adhere to the Roman Catholic worship, Mary directed preparations to be made for the celebration of a solemn mass in the chapel of Holyroodhouse, on the first Sunday after her arrival. So great was the horror with which the protestants viewed this service, and the alarm which they felt at finding it countenanced by their queen, that the first rumour of the design excited violent murmurs, which would have burst into an open tumult, had not the leaders interfered, and by their authority repressed the zeal of the multitude. Knox, from regard to public tranquillity, and to avoid giving offence to the queen and her relations, at the present juncture, used his influence in private conversation to allay the fervour of the more zealous, who were ready to prevent the service by force. But he was not less alarmed at the precedent than the rest of his brethren; and having exposed the evil of idolatry in his sermon on the following Sabbath, he said, that "one mess was more fearfull unto him, then if ten thousand armed enemies wer landed in ony parte of the realme, of purpose to suppres the hole religioun."\*

At this day, we are apt to be struck with surprise at the conduct of our ancestors, to treat their fears as visionary, or at least highly exaggerated, and summarily to pronounce them guilty of the same intolerance of which they complained in their adversaries. Persecution for conscience' sake is so odious,

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 284—287.

the least approach to it is so dangerous, that we reckon we can never express too great detestation of any measure which involves it. But let us be just as well as liberal. A little reflection upon the circumstances in which our reforming forefathers were placed, may serve to abate our astonishment, and qualify our censures. They were actuated, it is true, by a strong abhorrence of popish idolatry, and unwilling to suffer the land to be again polluted with it. But they were influenced also by a proper regard for their own preservation; and neither were their fears fanciful, nor their precautions unnecessary.

The warmest friends of toleration and liberty of conscience (some of whom will not readily be charged with protestant prejudices) have agreed, that persecution of the most sanguinary kind was inseparable from the system and spirit of popery which was at that time dominant in Europe; and they cannot deny the inference, that the profession and propagation of it were, on this account, justly subjected to penal restraints, as far, at least, as was requisite to prevent it from obtaining the ascendancy, and reacting the bloody scenes which it had already exhibited.\* The protestants of Scotland had these scenes before their eyes, and fresh in their recollection; and criminal indeed would they have been, if, under a false security, and by listening to the Syren song of toleration (by which their adversaries, with no less impudence than artifice, now attempted to lull

\* Bayle, *Commentaire Philosophique*, tome i. pref. xiv. part ii. chap. v. p. 343, 347. Anno 1686, and *Critique Generale de l'histoire du Calvinisme*, p. 486, 501—519. Hume's *Hist. of England*, vol. vii. chap. i. p. 24. Lond. 1793, 12mo. Robertson's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 62, 143, 352. Lond. 1809. See also Note III, at the end of this Life.



them asleep,) they had suffered themselves to be thrown off their guard, and neglected to provide against the most distant approaches of the danger by which they were threatened. Could they be ignorant of the perfidious, barbarous, and unrelenting cruelty with which protestants were treated in every Roman Catholic kingdom? in France, where so many of their brethren had been put to death, under the influence of the relations of their queen; in the Netherlands, where such multitudes had been tortured, beheaded, hanged, drowned, or buried alive; in England, where the flames of persecution were but lately extinguished, and in Spain, where they continued to blaze? Could they have forgot what had taken place in their own country, or the perils from which they had themselves narrowly escaped? "God forbid! (exclaimed the lords of the privy council, in the presence of queen Mary, at a time when they were not disposed to offend her) "God forbid! that the lives of the faithful stood in the power of the papists: for just experience has taught us what cruelty is in their hearts."\*

Nor was this an event so improbable, as to render the most jealous precautions unnecessary. The rage for conquest, on the continent, was now converted into a rage for proselytism; and steps had already been taken towards forming that league among the Catholic princes, which had for its object the universal extermination of the protestants. The Scots queen was passionately addicted to the intoxicating cup of which so many of "the kings of the earth had drunk." There were numbers in the nations similarly disposed. The liberty taken by the queen would soon be demanded for all who declared them-

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 341.

selves Catholics. Many of those who had hitherto ranged under the protestant standard were lukewarm in the cause; the zeal of others had already suffered a sensible abatement;\* and it was to be feared, that the favours of the court, and the blandishments of an artful and engaging princess would make proselytes of some, and lull others into a dangerous security, while designs were carried on pregnant with ruin to the religion and liberties of the nation. It was in this manner that some of the most wise persons in the country reasoned,† and, had it not been for the uncommon spirit which at that time existed among the reformers, there is every reason to think that their predictions would have been verified.

To those who compare the conduct of the Scottish protestants on this occasion, to the intolerance of Roman Catholics, I would recommend the following statement of a sensible French author, who had formed a more just notion of these transactions than many of our own writers. “Mary (says he) was brought up in France, accustomed to see protestants burned to death, and instructed in the maxims of her uncles, the Guises, who maintained that it was necessary to exterminate, without mercy, the pretended reformed. With these dispositions she arrived in Scotland, which was wholly reformed, with the exception of a few lords. The kingdom receive her, acknowledge her as their queen, and obey her in all things according to the laws of

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 282, 283, 285, 287.

† Several of the above considerations, along with others, are forcibly stated in a letter of Maitland to Cecil, written a short time before queen Mary's arrival in Scotland. Keith, *App.* 92—95. That sagacious, but supple and versatile politician was among the first to realize some of his own predictions. That such fears were very general in the nation appears also from a letter of Randolph. Robertson, *App.* No. 5.

the country. I maintain that, in the state of men's spirits at that time, if a Huguenot queen had come to take possession of a Roman Catholic kingdom, with the equipage with which Mary came to Scotland, the first thing they would have done, would have been to arrest her; and if she had persevered in her religion, they would have procured her degradation by the Pope, thrown her into the Inquisition, and burned her as a heretic. There is not an honest man who dare deny this."\* After all, it is surely unnecessary to apologize, for the restrictions which our ancestors were desirous of imposing on queen Mary, to those who approve of the present constitution of Britain, which excludes every papist from the throne, and according to which the reigning monarch, by setting up mass in his chapel, would virtually forfeit his crown. Is popery more dangerous now than it was two hundred and fifty years ago?

Besides his fears for the common cause, Knox had grounds for apprehension as to his personal safety. The queen was peculiarly incensed against him on account of the active hand which he had in the late revolution; the popish clergy who left the kingdom represented him as the ringleader of her factious subjects; and she had signified, before she left France, that she was determined he should be punished. His book against female government was most pro-

\* *Histoire du Calvinisme et celle du Papisme mises en Parallele; ou Apologie pour les Reformateurs, pour la Reformation, et pour les Reformez*, tome i. 334. A. Rotterdam, 1683, 4to. The affirmation of this writer is completely supported by the well-known history of Henry IV. of France (not to mention other instances;) whose recantation of Calvinism, although it smoothed his way to the throne, was never able to effect the indelible stigma of his former heresy, to secure the affections of his Roman Catholic subjects, or to avert from his breast the consecrated poignard of the assassin.



bably the ostensible charge on which he was to be prosecuted ; and accordingly we find him making application through the English resident at Edinburgh, to secure the favour of Elizabeth, reasonably fearing that she might be induced to abet the proceedings against him on this head.\* But whatever perils he apprehended, from the personal presence of the queen, either to the public or to himself, he used not the smallest influence to prevent her being invited home. On the contrary, he concurred with his brethren in this measure, and in defeating a scheme which the duke of Castelhe-rault, under the direction of the archbishop of St. Andrews, had formed to exclude her from the government.† But when the prior of St. Andrews was sent to France with the invitation, he urged that her desisting from the celebration of mass should be one of the conditions of her return ; and when he found him and the rest of the council disposed to grant her this liberty within her own chapel, he

\* Randolph to Cecil, 9th Aug. 1561. Robertson, Appendix, No. 5. See also Keith, 190. A letter of Maitland to Cecil of the same date, published by Haynes, p. 369, seems to refer to the same design, which I mention the rather to correct (what appears to me) an error in the transcription. “ I wish to God the first warre may be planely intended *against them by Knox*, for so shold it be manifest that the suppressing off religion was ment ; but I fear more the will proceed tharunto by indirect meanes : And nothing for us so dangerouse as temporizing.” This seems altogether unintelligible ; but if the words printed in Italics are transposed, and read thus, “ by them against Knox,” they will make sense, correspond with the strain of the letter, and with the fact mentioned by Randolph in his letter written on the same day. Maitland expresses his fears that Mary would have recourse to crafty measures for undermining their cause, instead of persevering in the design which she had avowed of using violence against Knox.

† Knox, *Historie*, 269.

predicted that "her liberty would be their thralldom."\*

Soon after her arrival,† queen Mary, whether of her own accord or by advice is uncertain, sent for Knox to the palace, and held a long conversation with him, in the presence of her brother, the prior of St. Andrews. She seems to have expected to awe him into submission by her authority, if not to confound him by her arguments. But the bold freedom with which he replied to all her charges, and vindicated his own conduct, convinced her that the one expectation was not more vain than the other; and the impression which she wished to make was left on her own mind. She accused him of raising her subjects against her mother and herself; of writing a book against her just authority, which (she said) she would cause the most learned in Europe to answer; of being the cause of sedition and bloodshed when he was in England; and of accomplishing his purposes by magical arts.

To these heavy charges Knox replied, that, if to teach the truth of God in sincerity, to rebuke idolatry, and exhort a people to worship God according to his word, were to excite subjects to rise against their princes, then he stood convicted of that crime; for it had pleased God to employ him, among others, to disclose unto that realm the vanity of the papistical religion, with the deceit, pride, and tyranny of the Roman antichrist. But if the true knowledge of God and his right worship were the most powerful inducements to subjects cordially to obey their princes (as they certainly were,) he was innocent. Her Grace, he was persuaded had at

\* Knox, *Historic*, 262, 293.

† In the beginning of September, Keith, 188.

present as unfeigned obedience from the protestants of Scotland, as ever her father or any of her ancestors had from those called bishops. With respect to what had been reported to her Majesty, concerning the fruits of his preaching in England, he was glad that his enemies laid nothing to his charge but what the world knew to be false. If any of them could prove, that in any of the places where he had resided there was either sedition or mutiny, he would confess himself to be a malefactor. So far from this being the case, he was not ashamed to say, that in Berwick, where bloodshed among the soldiers had formerly been common, God so blessed his weak labours, that there was as great quietness during the time he resided in it, as there was at present in Edinburgh. The slander of practising magic (an art which he had condemned wherever he preached) he could more easily bear, when he recollected that his master, the Lord Jesus, had been defamed as one in league with Beelzebub. As to the book which seemed so highly to offend her Majesty, he owned that he wrote it, and was willing that all the learned should judge of it. He understood that an Englishman had written against it, but he had not read him. If he had sufficiently confuted his arguments, and established the contrary propositions, he would confess his error; but to that hour he continued to think himself alone more able to sustain the things affirmed in that work than any ten in Europe were to confute them.

“You think I have no just authority?” said the queen. “Please your Majesty (replied he,) learned men in all ages have had their judgments free, and most commonly disagreeing from the common judgment of the world; such also have they published both with pen and tongue; notwithstanding, they themselves have lived in the common society



with others, and have borne patiently with the errors and imperfections which they could not amend, Plato the philosopher wrote his book *Of the Commonwealth*, in which he condemned many things that then were maintained in the world, and required many things to have been reformed; and yet, notwithstanding, he lived under such policies as then were universally received, without farther troubling of any state. Even so, madam, am I content to do, in uprightness of heart, and with a testimony of a good conscience." He added, that his sentiments on that subject should be confined to his own breast; and that, if she refrained from persecution, her authority would not be hurt, either by him, or his book, "which was written most especially against that wicked Jesabell of England."

"But ye speak of women in general," said the queen. "Most true it is, madam; yet it appeareth to me, that wisdom should persuade your Grace never to raise trouble for that which to this day has not troubled your Majesty, neither in person nor in authority: for of late years many things, which before were held stable, have been called in doubt; yea, they have been plainly impugned. But yet, madam, I am assured that neither protestant nor papist shall be able to prove, that any such question was at any time moved either in public or in secret. Now, madam, if I had intended to have troubled your estate, because ye are a woman, I would have chosen a time more convenient for that purpose, than I can do now, when your presence is within the realm."

Changing the subject, she charged him with having taught the people to receive a religion different from that allowed by their princes; and asked, if this was not contrary to the divine command, that subjects should obey their rulers? He replied that

true religion derived not its original or authority from princes, but from the eternal God; that princes were often most ignorant of the true religion; and that subjects were not bound to frame their religion according to the arbitrary will of their rulers, else the Hebrews would have been bound to adopt the religion of Pharaoh, Daniel and his associates, that of Nebuchadnezzar and Darius, and the primitive Christians that of the Roman Emperors. "Yea," replied the queen, qualifying her assertion; "but none of these men raised the sword against their princes." "Yet you cannot deny," said he, "that they resisted; for those who obey not the commandment given them, do in some sort resist." "But they resisted not with the sword," rejoined the queen, pressing home the argument. "God, madam, had not given unto them the power and the means." "Think you," said the queen, "that subjects, having the power, may resist their princes?" "If princes exceed their bounds, madam, no doubt they may be resisted, even by power. For no greater honour, or greater obedience, is to be given to kings and princes, than God has commanded to be given to father and mother. But the father may be struck with a phrenzy, in which he would slay his children. Now, madam, if the children arise, join together, apprehend the father, take the sword from him, bind his hands, and keep him in prison, till the phrenzy be over; think you, madam that the children do any wrong? Even so, madam, is it with princes that would murder the children of God that are subject unto them. Their blind zeal is nothing but a mad phrenzy; therefore, to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but

just obedience, because it agreeth with the will of God."

The queen, who had hitherto maintained her courage in reasoning, was completely overpowered by this bold answer: her countenance changed, and she continued in a silent stupor. Her brother spoke to her, and inquired the cause of her uneasiness; but she made no reply. At length, recovering herself, she said, "Well then, I perceive that my subjects shall obey you, and not me, and will do what they please, and not what I command; and so must I be subject to them, and not they to me." "God forbid!" answered Knox, "that ever I take upon me to command any to obey me, or to set subjects at liberty to do whatever pleases them. But my travel is, that both princes and subjects may obey God. And think not madam, that wrong is done you, when you are required to be subject unto God; for it is he who subjects people under princes, and causes obedience to be given unto them. He craves of kings, that they be as *foster-fathers* to his church, and commands queens to be *nurses* to his people. And this subjection, madam, unto God and his church, is the greatest dignity that flesh can get upon the face of the earth; for it shall raise them to everlasting glory."

"But you are not the church that I will nourish," said the queen: "I will defend the church of Rome; for it is, I think, the true church of God." "Your will, madam, is no reason; neither doth your *thought* make the Roman harlot to be the true and immaculate spouse of Jesus Christ. Wonder not, madam, that I call Rome an harlot, for that church is altogether polluted with all kinds of spiritual fornication, both in doctrine and manners." He added, that he was ready to prove that the Romish



church had declined farther from the purity of religion taught by the apostles, than the Jewish church had degenerated from the ordinances which God gave them by Moses and Aaron, at the time when they denied and crucified the son of God. "My conscience is not so," said the queen. "Conscience, madam, requires knowledge; and I fear that right knowledge you have none." She said, she had both heard and read. "So, madam, did the Jews who crucified Christ; they read the law and the prophets, and heard them interpreted after their manner. Have you heard any teach but such as the pope and cardinals have allowed? and you may be assured, that such will speak nothing to offend their own estate."

"You interpret the scriptures in one way," said the queen evasively, "and they in another: whom shall I believe, and who shall be judge?" "You shall believe God who plainly speaketh in his word," replied the Reformer, "and farther than the word teacheth you, you shall believe neither the one nor the other. The word of God is plain in itself; if there is any obscurity in one place, the Holy Ghost, who is never contrary to himself, explains it more clearly in other places, so that there can remain no doubt, but unto such as are obstinately ignorant." As an example, he selected one of the articles in controversy, that concerning the sacrament of the supper, and proceeded to shew, that the popish doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass was destitute of all foundation in scripture. But the queen, who was determined to avoid all discussion of the articles of her creed, interrupted him, by saying, that she was unable to contend with him in argument, but if she had those present whom she had heard, they would answer him. "Madam," replied the Reformer fer-

vently, "would to God that the learnedest papist in Europe, and he whom you would best believe, were present with your Grace to sustain the argument, and that you would wait patiently to hear the matter reasoned to the end! for then, I doubt not, madam, but you would hear the vanity of the papistical religion, and how little ground it hath in the word of God." "Well," said she, "you may perchance get that sooner than you believe." "Assuredly, if ever I get that in my life, I get it sooner than I believe; for the ignorant papist cannot patiently reason, and the learned and crafty papist will never come, in your audience, madam, to have the ground of their religion searched out. When you shall let me see the contrary, I shall grant myself to have been deceived in that point."

The hour of dinner afforded an occasion for breaking off this singular conversation. At taking leave of her Majesty, the Reformer said, "I pray God madam, that you may be as blessed within the commonwealth of Scotland, as ever Deborah was in the commonwealth of Israel."\*

This interview excited great speculation, and different conjectures were formed as to its probable consequences. The Catholics, whose hopes now depended solely on the queen, were alarmed, lest Knox's rhetoric should have shaken her constancy. The protestants cherished the expectation that she would be induced to attend the protestant sermons, and that her religious prejudices would gradually abate. Knox indulged no such flattering expectations. He had made it his study, during the late conference, to discover the real character of the queen; and he formed, at that time, the opinion which he never saw reason afterwards to alter that she was proud, crafty, obstinately wedded

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 287—292.

to the popish church, and averse to all means of instruction.\* He resolved, therefore, vigilantly to watch her proceedings, that he might give timely warning of any danger which might result from them to the reformed interest; and the more that he perceived the zeal of the protestant nobles to cool, and their jealousy to be laid asleep, by the winning arts of the queen, the more frequently and loudly did he sound the alarm. Vehement and harsh as his expressions often were; violent, seditious, and insufferable, as his sermons and prayers have been pronounced, I have little hesitation in saying, that, as the public peace was never disturbed by them, so they were useful to the public safety, and even a principal means of warding off those confusions in which the country was involved, and which brought on the ultimate ruin of the infatuated queen. His uncourtly and rough manner was not, indeed, calculated to gain upon her mind, (nor is there reason to think that an opposite manner would have had this effect,) and his admonitions often irritated her; but they obliged her to act with greater reserve and moderation; and they operated, to an indescribable degree, in arousing and keeping awake the zeal and the fears of the nation, which, at that period, were the two great safeguards of the protestant religion in Scotland. We may form an idea of the effect produced by his pulpit-orations, from the account of the English ambassador, who was one of his constant hearers. “Where your honour (says he, in a letter to Cecil) exhorteth us to stoutness, I assure you the voice of one man is able, in

\* Knox, 292. Keith, 197. In a letter to Cecil, 7th October, 1561, Knox says, “the queen neyther is, neyther shal be of our opinion; and, in very dead, her hole proceedings do declair that the cardinalles lessons ar so deaplie printed in her heart, that the substance and the qualitie are liek to perishe together. I wold be glad to be deceaved, but I fear I shall not. In communication with her.



an hour, to put more life in us, than *six hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears.*"\*

The Reformer was not ignorant that some of his friends thought him too severe in his language, nor was he always disposed to vindicate the expressions which he employed. Still, however, he was persuaded, that the times required the utmost plainness; and he was afraid that snares lurked under the smoothness which was recommended and practised by courtiers. Cecil, having given him an advice on this head, in one of his letters, we find him replying: "Men deliting to swym betwix two waters, have often compleaned upon my severitie. I do fear that that which men terme lenitie and dulcenes do bring upon thameselves and others mor fearful destruction, than yit hath ensewed the vehemency of any preacher within this realme."†

The abatement of zeal which he dreaded from "the holy water of the court," soon began to appear among the protestant leaders. The general assemblies of the church were a great eye-sore to the queen, who was very desirous to have them put down. At the first assembly after her arrival, the courtiers, through her influence, absented themselves, and, when challenged for this, began to dispute the propriety of such conventions without her

I espyed such craft as I have not found in such aige. Since, hath the court been dead to me and I to it." Haynes, 372.

\* Randolph's letter, apud Keith, 188. In this letter, the ambassador gives an account of Knox's conference with the queen. He "knocked so hastily upon her heart, that he made her to weep, as well you know there be some of that sex that will do that as well for anger as for grief; though in this the lord James will disagree with me. He concluded so in the end with her, that he hath liberty to speak his conscience; [and] to give unto her such reverence as becometh the ministers of God unto the superior powers."

† Haynes, 372. An epistolary correspondence was at this time

majesty's pleasure. On this point, there was sharp reasoning between Knox and Maitland, who was now made Secretary of State. "Take from us the liberty of assemblies, and take from us the gospel," said the Reformer. "If the liberty of the church must depend upon her allowance or disallowance, we shall want not only assemblies, but also the preaching of the gospel." He was still more indignant at their management in settling the provision for the ministers of the church. Hitherto they had lived mostly on the benevolence of their hearers, and many of them had scarcely the means of subsistence; but repeated complaints having obliged the Privy Council to take up the affair, they came at last to a determination, that the ecclesiastical revenues should be divided into three parts; that two of these should be given to the ejected popish clergy; and that the other part should be divided between the court and the protestant ministry!\* The persons appointed to modify the stipends were disposed to gratify the queen, and the sums allotted to the ministers were as ill paid as they were paltry and inadequate. "Weall! (exclaimed Knox, when he heard of this disgraceful arrangement) if the end of this ordour, pretendit to be takin for sustenatioun of the ministers, be happie, my jugement failes me. I sie twa pairtis freelie gevin to the devill, and the thrid mon be devyded betwix God and the devill. Quho wald have thocht, that quhen Joseph reulled in Egypt, his brethren sould have travellit for victualles; and have returned with emptie sackes unto thair families? O happie servands of the devill, and

maintained between secretary Cecil and our Reformer. Keith. 191, 192, 194. Robertson, Append. No. 5.

\* Keith, App. 175—179. Knox. 296—300.

miserabill servants of Jesus Christ, if efter this lyf thair wer not hell and heavin !”\*

He vented his mind more freely on this subject, as his complaints could not be imputed to personal motives : for his own stipend, though moderate, was liberal when compared with those of the most of his brethren. From the time of his last return to Scotland, until the conclusion of the war, he had been indebted to the liberality of individuals, for the support of his family. After that period, he lodged for some time in the house of David Forrest, a burghess of Edinburgh, from which he removed to the lodging which had belonged to Durie, abbot of Dunfermline. As soon as he began to preach statedly in the city, the town council assigned him an annual stipend of two hundred pounds, to be paid quarterly ; besides discharging his house-rent, and reimbursing some individuals the money which they had expended in maintaining his family. Subsequent to the settlement made by the Privy Council, it would seem that he received his stipend from the common fund allotted to the ministers of the church ; but the good town had still an opportunity of testifying their generosity, by supplying the deficiencies of the legal allowance. Indeed, the uniform attention of the

\* “ So busie,” says he, “ and circumspect wer the modifiers (because it was a new office, the terme must also be new,) that the ministers sould not be over-wantoun, that an hundreth merks was sufficient to an single man, being a commone minister : Thre hundreth merks was the hiest apoynted to any except the superintendents, and a few utheris.” *Historie*, 301. “ Mr Knox is not at all here diminishing the sum, (says Keith ;) for the original books of *Assignment* to the ministers, which now ly before me, ascertain the truth of what he says,” p. 508. Wishart of Pittarow, who was comptroller of the modification, pinched the ministers so much, that it became a proverb, *The gude laird of Petarro was an earnest professour of Christ, bot the mekill devill receave the controller.*



town council to his external accommodation and comfort, was honourable to them, and deserves to be recorded to their commendation.\*

In the beginning of the year 1562, he went to Angus to preside in the election and admission of John Erskine of Dun, as superintendent of Angus and Mearns. That respectable baron was one of those whom the first General Assembly declared "apt and able to minister;"† and having already contributed, in different ways, to the advancement of the Reformation, he now devoted himself to the service of the church, in a laborious employment, at a time when she stood eminently in need of the assistance of all the learned and pious. Knox had formerly presided at the installation of John Spottiswood, as superintendent of Lothian.‡

The influence of our Reformer appears from his being employed on different occasions to compose variances of a civil nature, which arose among the protestants. He was applied to frequently to intercede with the town council in behalf of some of the inhabitants, who had subjected themselves to punishment by their disorderly conduct.§ In March this year, the earl of Bothwell urged him to assist in removing a deadly feud which subsisted between him and the earl of Arran. He was averse to interfere in this business, which had already baffled the authority of the privy council;|| but, at the desire of some friends, he yielded, and after considerable

\* See Extracts from the Records of the Town Council, in Note II.  
† Keith, 498.

‡ The form observed on that occasion, which was followed in the admission or ordination of all the superintendents and other ministers, is inserted at length in Knox's *Historie*, p. 263—266, and in Dunlop's *Confessions*, ii. 627—636.

§ Knox, *Historie*, p. 270.

|| Keith, 215.

pains, had the satisfaction of bringing the parties to an amicable interview, at which they mutually promised to bury all differences. But he was exceedingly mortified by the information, which Arran, immediately on the back of this agreement, communicated to him, of a conspiracy which Bothwell had proposed to him; which produced the imprisonment of both, and, notwithstanding the lunacy of the informer, created great jealousies in the minds of the principal courtiers.\*

In the month of May, Knox had another interview with the queen, on the following occasion. The family of Guise were at this time making the most vigorous efforts to regain that influence in France which they had been deprived of since the death of Francis II. and as zeal for the Catholic religion was the cloak by which they covered their ambitious designs, they began by stirring up persecution against the protestants. The massacre of Vassay, in the beginning of March this year, was a prelude to this, in which the duke of Guise and cardinal of Lorraine attacked, with an armed force, a congregation assembled for worship, killed a number of them, and wounded and mutilated others, not excepting women and children.† Intelligence of the success which attended the measures of her uncles was brought to queen Mary, who immediately after gave a splendid ball to her foreign servants, at which the dancing was prolonged to a late hour.

Knox was advertised of the festivities in the palace, and the occasion of them. He always felt a lively interest in the concerns of the French protestants, with many of whom he was intimately ac-

\* Knox, *Historie*, 305--308, and Letter to Locke, 6th May, 1562, apud Cald. MS. i. 755, 756.

† *Histoire des Martyrs*, fol. 558, 559.

quainted, and he entertained a very bad opinion of the princes of Lorrain. In his sermon on the following Sabbath, he introduced some severe strictures upon the vices to which princes were addicted, their oppression, ignorance, hatred of virtue, attachment to bad company, and fondness for foolish pleasures. Information of this discourse was quickly conveyed to the queen, with many exaggerations; and the preacher was next day ordered to attend at the palace. Being conveyed into the royal chamber, where the queen sat with her maids of honour and principal counsellors, he was accused of having spoken of her majesty irreverently, and in such a manner as to bring her under the contempt and hatred of her subjects.

After the queen had made a long speech on that theme, he was allowed to state his defence. He told her majesty, that she had been treated as persons usually were who refused to attend the preaching of the word of God: she had been obliged to trust to the false reports of flatterers. For, if she had heard the calumniated discourse, he did not believe she could have been offended with any thing that he had said. She would now, therefore, be pleased to hear him repeat, as exactly as he could, what he had preached yesterday. Having done this, he added, "If any man, madam, will say, that I spake more, let him presently accuse me." Several of the company attested that he had given a just report of the sermon. The queen, after turning round to the informers, who were dumb, told him, that his words, though sharp enough as related by himself, were reported to her in a different way. She added, that she knew that her uncles and he were of a different religion, and therefore did not blame him for having no good opinion of them; but if he heard any thing about her conduct which displeased him, he should



come to herself, and she would be willing to hear him. Knox easily saw through the artifice of this fair proposal. He replied, that he was willing to do any thing for her majesty's contentment, which was consistent with his office; if her Grace choosed to attend the public sermons, she would hear what pleased or displeased him in her and in others; or if she pleased to appoint a time when she would hear the substance of the doctrine which he preached in public, he would most gladly wait upon her Grace's pleasure, time, and place: but to come and wait at her chamber-door, and then to have liberty only to whisper in her ear what people thought and said of her, that would neither his conscience, nor his office permit him to do. "For, (added he, in a strain which he sometimes used even on serious occasions,) albeit at your Grace's commandment, I am heir now, yit can I not tell quhat uther men shall judge of me, that, at this tyme of day, am absent from my buke, and waitting upoun the court." "Ye will not alwayes be at your buke," said the queen pettishly, and turned her back. As he left the room "with a reasounable merry countenance," some of the popish attendants said in his hearing, *He is not afraid!* "Why sould the plesing face of a *gentilwoman* afray me? (said he, regarding them with a sarcastic scowl,) I have luiked in the faces of mony angry men, and yit have not bene affrayed above measour."\*

There was at this time but one place of worship in the city of Edinburgh.† The number of inhabitants, was, indeed, small, when compared with its present population; but still they must have formed

\* Knox, *Historie*, 306—311.

† St. Cuthberts, or the West Church, was at that time (as at present,) a distinct parish, of which *William Haylow* was minister.

a very large congregation. The place used for worship in St. Giles's church was capacious : on some occasions, three thousand persons assembled in it to hear sermons.\* In this church, Knox had, since 1560, performed all the parts of ministerial duty, without any other assistant but John Cairus, who acted as reader.† He preached twice every Sabbath, and thrice on other days of the week.‡ He met regularly once every week with the sessions of the parish, for discipline, and with the assembly of the neighbourhood, for the exercise on the scriptures. He attended, besides, the meetings of the provincial synod and general assembly ; and at almost every meeting of the last mentioned court, he received an appointment to visit and preach in some distant part of the country. These labours must have been oppressive to a constitution which was already impaired ; especially as he did not indulge in extemporaneous effusions, but devoted a part of every day to study. His parish were sensible of this ; and, in April, 1562, the town council came to an unanimous resolution to solicit *John Craig*, the minister of Canongate, or Holyroodhouse, to undertake the half of the charge. The ensuing general assembly approved of the council's proposal, and appointed Craig to remove to Edinburgh.¶ His translation did not, however, take place before June, 1563, owing, as it would seem, to the difficulty of obtaining an additional stipend.¶

\* Cald. MS. ii. 157.

† Records of Town Council, 26th October, 1561.

‡ Ibid, 10th April, 1562.

§ The number of elders in the session of Edinburgh was 12, and of deacons 16. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 638.

¶ Calderwood, apud Keith, 514.

¶ See Note KK.

During the autumn of 1562, the Roman Catholics entertained great hopes of a change in their favour. After several unsuccessful attempts to cut off the principal protestant courtiers;\* the earl of Huntly openly took arms in the North, to rescue the queen from their hands; while the archbishop of St. Andrews endeavoured to unite and rouse the papists of the South. On this occasion, our Reformer acted with his usual zeal and foresight. Being appointed by the general assembly as commissioner to visit the churches of the West, he persuaded the gentlemen of that quarter to enter into a new bond of defence. Hastening into Galloway and Nithsdale, he, by his sermons and conversation, confirmed the protestants of these places. He employed the master of Maxwell to write to the earl of Bothwell, who had escaped from confinement, and meant, it was feared to join Huntly. He himself wrote to the duke of Chastellherault, warning him not to listen to the solicitations of his brother, the archbishop, nor accede to a conspiracy which would infallibly prove the ruin of his house. By these means, the southern parts of the kingdom were preserved in a state of peace, while the vigorous measures of the council crushed the rebellion in the North.† The queen expressed little satisfaction at the victory, and there is every reason to think, that if she was not privy to the rising of Huntly, she expected to turn it to the advancement of her projects.‡ She scrupled not to say, at this time, that she “hoped, before a year was expired, to have the mass and Catholic profession restored through the whole kingdom.”§

While these hopes were indulged, the popish

\* Keith, 230. Knox, 321.

† Knox, 316—318.

‡ Gordon of Gordon's MS. apud Keith, 229.

§ Spettiswood, 185.



clergy thought it necessary to gain credit to their cause, by appearing more openly in defence of their tenets than they had lately done. They began to preach publicly, and boasted that they were ready to dispute with the protestant ministers. The person who stepped forward as their champion was Quintin Kennedy, uncle of the earl of Cassilis, and abbot of Crossraguel. The abbot appears to have spent the greater part of his life in the same negligence of the duties of his office with the rest of his brethren; but he was roused from his inactivity by the success of the protestant preachers, who, in the years 1556 and 1557, attacked the popish faith, and inveighed against the idleness and corruption of the clergy.\* At an age when others retire from the field, he began to rub up his long neglected theological weapons, and to gird on his armour.

His first appearance was in 1558, when he published a short system of catholic tactics, under the title of *Ane Compendius Tractive*, shewing “the nearest and onlie way” to establish the conscience of a Christian man, in all matters which were in debate concerning faith and religion. This way was no other than that of implicit faith in the decisions of the church or clergy. The scripture was only a *witness*, the church was the *judge*, in every controversy, whose determinations, in general councils canonically assembled, were to be humbly received and submitted to by all the faithful.† This was no doubt the most compendious, and nearest way of establishing the conscience of every christian man, and deciding

\* The reasoning betwix Jo. Knox and the Abbote of Crosraguell, fol. 4. Edinburgh, 1563.

† As *Kennedy's Tractive*, and *Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism*, are the only books published by the Scots Roman Catholics before the establishment of the Reformation, which have come down to us, some extracts from both shall be inserted in Note **LE**.

every controversy which might arise, without examination, reasoning, and debate.

But as the stubborn reformers would not submit to this easy and short mode of decision, the abbot was reluctantly obliged to enter the lists of argument with them. Accordingly, when Willock preached in his neighbourhood, in the beginning of 1559, he challenged him to a dispute on the sacrifice of the mass. The challenge was accepted, the time and place were fixed; but the abbot refused to appear, unless his antagonist would previously engage to submit to the interpretations of scripture which had been given by the ancient doctors of the church.\* From this time he seems to have made the mass the great subject of his study, and endeavoured to qualify himself for defending this keystone of the popish arch.†

George Hay having been sent by the General Assembly to preach in Carrick and Cunningham, during the autumn of 1562, Kennedy offered to dis-

\* Keith, App. 195—199. Kennedy, in a letter to the archbishop of Glasgow, says; “Willock, and the rest of his counsell labourit earnestlie to sie gif I wald admitt the scripture onley jüge, and, be that meines, to haif maid me contrarray to my awin buke; bot their labouris wes in waist.—I held me evir fast at ane grounde.” And he triumphs that he “draif the lymmar—to refuse the interpretation of the doctoris alleget be him and all uthe-ris, bot so far as he thoecht thay war agreable with the worde of God, quhilk was as ryecht noecht.” Ut supra, 193, 194.

† In the dispute with Knox, the abbot mentions his “books,” and he refers particularly to a book which he had published, in 1561, on the sacrament of the mass. There is in the library of Alexander Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck, a MS. by the abbot, entitled, “Aug familiar commune and rassoning anent the misterie of the sacrifice of the mess, betwix twa brether, master Quintin Kenedy, Comendator of Crosraguell, and James Kenedy of.—In the yeir of God, ane thousand, five hundred, three seoir ane year.” Whether this is the same with the printed book on that subject, or not, I cannot say.

pute with him; but no meeting took place between them.\* On the 30th of August, the abbot read in his chapel of Kirk Oswald, a number of articles respecting the mass, purgatory, praying to saints, the use of images, &c. which he said he would defend against any who should impugn them, and promised to declare his mind more fully respecting them on the following Sunday. Knox, who was in the vicinity, came to Kirk Oswald on that day, with the design of hearing the abbot, and granting him the disputation which he had courted. The abbot not making his appearance, he himself preached in the chapel. When he came down from the pulpit, there was a letter from Kennedy put into his hand, stating, that he understood he had come to that country to seek disputation, and offering to meet with him on the following Sunday in any house in Maybole, provided there were not more than twenty persons on each side admitted. Knox replied, that he had come, not purposely to dispute, but to preach the gospel; he was, however, willing to meet with him; he was, under a previous engagement to be in Dumfries on the day mentioned by the abbot, but if he sent him his articles, he would, with all convenient speed, return and fix a time.

A correspondence was carried on between them on this subject, which is fully as curious as the dis-

\* In answer to the abbot's assertion, that George Hay had declined to dispute with him, Knox says; "Maister George Hay offered unto you disputation, but ye fled the barrass." Reasoning, &c. + iiij. George Hay seems to have had a benefice in the church before the Reformation. He was at this time minister of Eddleston; and, in the records of the church, is also designed minister to the privy council, and parson of Ruthven. Keith, 511, 530, 544. In the year 1562, he published a book on the sacrament of the supper, perhaps in answer to Kennedy's. Winzet, apud Keith, App. 246, comp. 235.



pute which ensued.\* Knox wished that the reasoning should be as public as the abbot had made his articles, and proposed that it should take place in St. John's church in Ayr; but the abbot refused to dispute publicly. The earl of Cassilis wrote to Knox, expressing his disapprobation of the proposed disputation, as unlikely to do any good, and calculated to endanger the public peace; to which the Reformer replied, by signifying, that his relation had given the challenge, which he was resolved not to decline, and that his lordship ought to encourage him to keep the appointment, from which no bad effects were to be dreaded. Upon this the abbot, feeling his honour touched, wrote a letter to the Reformer, in which he told him that he would have "rencountered" him the last time he was in the country, had it not been for the interposition of the earl of Cassilis,† and charged him with stirring up his nephew to write that letter, in order to bring

\* The Reformer, in his answer to the abbot's first letter, says, "that ye offer unto me familiar, formall, and gentill reasoning, with my whole hart I accept the condition. For assuredlie, my lord, (so I style you by reason of blood, and not of office) chiding and brawling I utterlie abhor." The abbot returned a long answer, to which Knox (when he published the account of the dispute) affixed short notes by way of reply. Whereas Knox said he had come to preach salvation through Christ, the abbot answers, that this was "na newingis" in that country before he was born. Knox replies, that he greatly doubted if ever Christ was preached by "a papistical priest or monk." "Ye said ane lytill afore (the abbot writes,) ye did abhor all chiding and railling; bot nature passis nurtor with yow."—"I will nether interchange nature nor nurtor with yow, for all the profets of Crossraguell." "Gif the victorie consist in clamour or crying out, (says the abbot, objecting to a public meeting,) I wil quite yow the caus, but farther pley [without farther plea:] and yet praise be to God, I may quhisper in sic maner as I will be hard sufficientlie in the largest hous in Carrick." "The larger hous the better for the auditor and me," replied Knox.

† "Brag on," says Knox on the margin.

him into disgrace. "Ye sal be assured (says he) I sal keip day and place in Mayboill, according to my writing, and I haif my life, and my feit louse;" and in another letter to Knox and the baillies of Ayr, he says, "keip your promes, and pretex na joukrie, be my lorde of Cassilis writing." The abbot being in this state of mind, the conditions of the combat were speedily settled. They agreed to meet on the 28th of September, at eight o'clock *ante meridiem*, in the house of the provost of Maybole. Forty persons on each side were to be admitted as witnesses of the dispute, with "as many mo as the house might goodly hold, at the sight of my lord of Cassilis." And notaries or scribes were appointed to record the papers which might be given in by the parties, and the arguments which they advanced in the course of reasoning, to prevent unnecessary repetition, or a false report of the proceedings. These conditions were formally subscribed by the abbot and the Reformer, on the day preceding the meeting.

When they met, "John Knox addressed him to make public prayer, whereat the abbot was soir offended at the first, but whil the said John wold in nowise be stayed, he and his gave audience; which being ended, the abbote said, *Be my faith, it is weill said.*" The reasoning commenced by reading a paper presented by the abbot, in which, after rehearsing the occasion of his present appearance, and protesting that his entering into dispute was not to be understood as implying that the points in question were disputable or dubious, being already determined by lawful general councils, he declared his readiness to defend the articles which he had exhibited, beginning with that concerning the sacrifice of the mass. To this paper Knox gave in a written answer in the course of the disputation: in the mean time, after

stating his opinion respecting general councils, he proceeded to the article in dispute. It was requisite, he said, to state clearly and distinctly the subject in controversy; and he thought it contained the four following things, the name, the form and action, the opinion entertained of it, and the actor with the authority which he had to do what he pretended to do: all of which he was prepared to shew were destitute of any foundation in scripture. The abbot was aware of the difficulty of managing the dispute on such broad ground, and he had taken up ground of his own which he thought he could maintain against his antagonist. "As to the masse that he will impung (said he,) or any mannes masse, yea, and it war *the paipes awin masse*, I wil mantein na thing but Jesus Christes masse, conforme to my article, as it is written, and diffinition contened in my buik, quhilk he hes tane on hand to impung."

Knox expressed his delight at hearing the abbot say that he would defend nothing but the mass of Christ, for if he adhered to this, they were "on the verray point of an christiane agreement," as he was ready to allow whatever could be shewn to have been instituted by Christ. As to his lordship's book, he confessed he had not read it, and (without excusing his negligence) requested the definition to be read to him from it. The abbot qualified his assertion, by saying, that he meant to defend no other mass, except that which in its "substance, institution, and effect," was appointed by Christ; and he defined the mass, as concerning the substance and effect, to be the sacrifice and oblation of the Lord's body and blood, given and offered by him in the last supper; and for the first confirmation of this, he rested upon the oblation of bread and wine by Melchize-deck. His argument was, that the scripture declared that Christ was a priest after the order of Melchi-



zedek: Melchizedek offered bread and wine to God: therefore Christ offered or made oblation of his body and blood in the last supper, which was the only instance in which the priesthood of Christ and Melchizedek could agree.

Knox said that the ceremonies of the mass, and the opinion entertained of it (as procuring remission of sins to the quick and the dead) were viewed as important parts of it, and having a strong hold of the consciences of the people, ought to be taken into the argument; but as the abbot declared himself willing to defend these afterwards, he would proceed to the substance, and proposed, in the first place, to fix the sense in which the word sacrifice or oblation was used in the argument. There were sacrifices *propitiatoriae*, for expiation, and *eucharisticae*, of thanksgiving; in which last sense the mortification of the body, prayer, and alms-giving, were called sacrifices in scripture. He wished, therefore, to know whether the abbot understood the word in the first or second of these senses in this dispute. The abbot said, that he would not at present dispute what his opponent meant by a sacrifice *propitiatorium*; but he held the sacrifice on the cross to be the only sacrifice of redemption, and that of the mass to be the sacrifice of commemoration of the death and passion of Christ. Knox replied, that the chief head which he intended to impugn seemed to be yielded by the abbot; and he, for his part, cheerfully granted, that there was a commemoration of Christ's death in the right use of the ordinance of the supper.

The abbot insisted that he should proceed to impugn the warrant which he had taken from scripture for his article. "Protesting (said the Reformer) that this mekle is win, that the sacrifice of the messe

being denied by me to be a sacrifice *propitiatorie* for the sins of the quick and the dead (according to the opinion thereof before conceived,) hath no patron at the present, I am content to procede.”—“I protest he hes win nothing of me as yit, and referres it to black and quhite contened in our writing.”—“I have openlie denied the masse to be an sacrifice propitiatorie for the quick, &c. and the defence thereof is denied. And, therefore, I referre me unto the same judges that my lord hath clamed.”—“Ye may denie quhat ye pleis; for all that ye denie I tak not presentlie to impung; but quhair I began thair will I end, that is, to defend the messe conform to my artickle.” “Your lordship’s ground (said Knox, after some altercation) is, that Melchizedeck is the figure of Christe in that he did offer unto God bread and wine, and that it behoved Jesus Christ to offer in his latter supper, his body and blude, under the forms of bread and wine. I answer to your ground yet againe, that Melchizedeck offered neither bread nor wine *unto God*; and therefore, it that ye would thereupon conclude hath no assurance of your ground.” “Preve that,” said the abbot. Knox replied, that according to the rules of just reasoning, he could not be bound to prove a negative; that it was incumbent on his opponent to bring forward some proof for his affirmation, concerning which the text was altogether silent; and that until the abbot did this, it was sufficient for him simply to deny. But the abbot said, he “stuck to his text,” and insisted that his antagonist should shew for what purpose Melchizedeck brought out the bread and wine, if it was not to offer it unto God. After protesting that the abbot’s ground remained destitute of any support, and that he was not bound in argument to shew what became

of the bread and wine, or what use was made of them, Knox consented to state his opinion, that they were intended by Melchizedeck to refresh Abraham and his company. The abbot had now gained what he wished; and he had a number of objections ready to start against this view of the words, by which he was able at least to protract and involve the dispute. And thus ended the first day's contest.

When the company convened on the following day, the abbot proceeded to impugn the view which his opponent had given of the text. He urged first, that Abraham and his company had a sufficiency of provision in the spoils which they had taken from the enemy in their late victory, and did not need Melchizedeck's bread and wine; and, secondly, that the text said that Melchizedeck brought them forth, and it was improbable that one man, and he a king, should carry as much as would refresh three hundred and eighteen men. To these objections Knox made such replies as will occur to any person who thinks on the subject. In this manner did the second day pass. When they met on the third day, the abbot presented a paper, in which he stated another objection to Knox's view of the text. After some more altercation on this subject, Knox desired his opponent to proceed to his promised proof of the argument upon which he had rested his cause. But the abbot being indisposed, rose up, and put into Knox's hand a book to which he referred him for the proof.\* By this time, the noblemen and gentlemen present were completely wearied out. For besides the tedious and uninteresting mode in which the disputation had been managed, they could

\* This seems to have been the book published by Kennedy on the preceding year.



find entertainment neither for themselves nor for their retinue in Maybole ; so that if any person had brought in *bread and wine* among them, it is presumable that they would not have debated long upon the purpose for which it was brought. Knox proposed that they should adjourn to Ayr and finish the dispute, which was refused by the abbot, who said he would come to Edinburgh for that purpose, provided he could obtain the queen's permission.\* Upon this the company dismissed.

The abbot, or his friends, having circulated the report that he had the advantage in the disputation, Knox afterwards published the account of it from the records of the notaries, and added a prologue and short marginal notes. The prologue and his answer to the abbot's first paper, especially the latter, are pieces of good writing. I have been more minute in the narration of this dispute than its merits deserve, because no account of it has hitherto appeared, the tract itself being so exceedingly rare, as to have been seen by few for a long period.†

\* The dispute was never resumed, though Knox says he applied to the privy council for liberty to the abbot to come to Edinburgh with that view. The abbot died anno 1564. Crawford says, that he was canonized as a saint. Peerage of Scotland, p. 75. I do not, however, perceive his name in the calendar among the Scots Saints ; but what is of as great consequence, I find that the grand *argument* which he so zealously supported has been canonized. For in a calendar drawn up by "*M. Adam King*, professeur of philosophie and mathematikis at Paris," prefixed to a Scots translation of Canisius's Catechism, anno 1587, it is written : " Marche 25. Melchizedec sacrificeit breid and wyne in figure of ye bodie and bloud of our lord, whilk is offerit in ye messe." Doubtless, those who knew the very month and day on which this happened, must have been better acquainted with the design of Melchizedeck, and with the whole transaction, than Moses.

† Knox gives merely a general notice of this disputation in his *Historie*, p. 348. Keith, who was very industrious in collecting

Another priest who advocated the Roman Catholic cause at this time was *Ninian Wingate*, who had been schoolmaster of Linlithgow, from which situation he was removed by Spottiswood, superintendent of Lothian, on account of his attachment to popery. In the month of February, 1562, he sent to Knox a writing, consisting of eighty-three questions upon the principal topics of dispute between the papists and protestants, which he had drawn up in the name of the inferior clergy and laity of the Catholic persuasion in Scotland. To some of these, particularly the questions which related to the call of the protestant ministers, the Reformer returned an answer from the pulpit, and Wingate addressed several letters to him, complaining that his answers were not satisfactory. These letters, with addresses to the queen, nobility, bishops, and magistrates of Edinburgh, Wingate committed to the press, but the impression being seized in the printer's house (according to bishop Lesley,) the author escaped and went to the continent.\* Knox intended to

whatever referred to the ecclesiastical history of that period, could not obtain a copy of the printed disputation, and never heard of but one imperfect copy. History, App. 255. The only copy known to exist, is in the library of *Alexander Boswell, Esq. of Auchinleck*, who very politely allowed me to peruse it. I understand that Mr. Boswell intends to reprint a small impression of this *unique*, for the gratification of the curious.

\* Lesley, apud Keith, p. 501. App. 203. Lesley speaks of a dispute between Knox and Wingate, but that historian is often incorrect in his details. The dispute between the doctors of Aberdeen and the ministers, which took place in the beginning of 1561, is mentioned by Knox, *Historie*, p. 261, 262. It would seem from a letter of Randolph, that there was a dispute in the end of 1561, between some of the ministers and a Parisian divine, who had come over with the queen. Keith, 208. Wingate published at Antwerp his "*Buke of Fourseoir Three Questionis*," anno 1563. Keith has reprinted this, and also his "*Tractatis*," originally printed at Edinburgh. He calls them "very rare and

publish an answer to Wingates questions, and to defend the validity of the protestant ministry ; but it does not appear that he carried his intention into execution.\*

In the beginning of 1563, Knox went to Jedburgh, by appointment of the General Assembly, to investigate a scandal which had broken out against Paul Methven, the minister of that place, who was suspected of adultery. The accused was found guilty, and excommunicated.† He fled to England, but having afterwards returned, and offered to submit to the discipline of the church, a severe and humiliating course of public repentance was prescribed to him. He went through a part of it, with professions of deep sorrow ; but overwhelmed with shame, or despairing to regain his lost reputation, he stopped in the midst of it, and again retired to England.‡ Prudential considerations were not wanting to induce the reformed church of Scotland to stifle this fama, and screen from public ignominy a man who had acted a distinguished part in the late Reformation of religion. But they refused to listen to these ; and by instituting a strict scru-

*much noted pieces."* History, App. 203. In point of argument or sentiment they are not noted ; but they contain a strong testimony in support of the extreme corruption which prevailed among the superior popish clergy, against which Wingate inveighs as keenly as any reformer. His second book concludes with this exclamation, " Och for mair paper or penyis !" It is not improbable that he was the translator of some of the works of the fathers into the Scottish language, which are mentioned by him. Keith, App. 226, 227. He was made abbot of a Scots monastery at Rathson. Mackenzie's Lives, vol. iii. p. 149.

\* See Note MM.

† Knox, Historie, p. 323, 324. Keith, 522.

‡ It was in the year 1564, that he returned and professed his submission to discipline. Keith. p. 538.



tiny into the fact, and inflicting an exemplary punishment upon the criminal, they “approved themselves to be clear in this matter,” and effectually shut the mouths of their popish adversaries.

The mode of public repentance enjoined on this occasion was appointed to be afterwards used in all cases of aggravated immorality.\* There was nothing in which the Scottish reformers approached nearer to the primitive church than in the rigorous and impartial exercise of ecclesiastical discipline, the relaxation of which, under the papacy, they justly regarded as one great cause of the universal corruption of religion. While they rejected many of the ceremonies in worship which were used by the Christians during the three first centuries after the time of the apostles, they, from detestation of vice, and a desire to restrain it, did not scruple to conform to a number of their penitentiary regulations. In some instances they might carry their rigour against offenders to an extreme ; but it was a virtuous extreme, compared with the dangerous laxity, or rather total disuse of discipline, which has gradually crept into almost all the churches which retain the name of reformed: even as the scrupulous delicacy with which our forefathers shunned the society of those who had transgressed the rules of morality, is to be preferred to modern manners, by which the virtuous and vicious are equally admitted to *good* company.

’Twas hard perhaps on here and there a waif,  
Desirous to return, and not received :  
But was an wholesome rigour in the main,  
And taught the unblemished to preserve with care  
That purity, whose loss was loss of all.

—————But now—yes, now,  
We are become so candid and so fair,

\* See Note NN.

So liberal in construction, and so rich  
In Christian charity, (good-natured age!)  
That they are safe, sinners of either sex,  
Transgress what laws they may.

Cowper, Task, B. iii.

In the month of May, the queen sent for Knox to Lochleven. The popish priests, presuming upon her avowed partiality to them, and secret promises of protection, had of late become more bold, and during the late Easter, masses had been openly celebrated in the different parts of the kingdom. The queen in council had issued various proclamations against this, but as the execution had hitherto been left to her, nothing had followed upon them. The protestants of the West, who were the most zealous, perceiving that the laws were eluded, resolved to execute them, without making any application to the court, and apprehended some of the offenders by way of example. These decided proceedings highly offended the queen, as they were calculated to defeat the scheme of policy which she had formed; but finding that the signification of her displeasure had not the effect of stopping them, she wished to avail herself of the Reformer's influence for accomplishing her purpose.

She dealt with him very earnestly, for two hours before supper, to persuade the western gentlemen to desist from all interruption of the Catholic worship. He told her majesty, that if she would exercise her authority in executing the laws of the land, he could promise for the peaceable behaviour of the protestants; but if her majesty thought to elude them, he feared there were some who would let the papists understand that they should not offend with impunity. "Will ye allow, that they shall take *my* sword in their hands?" said the queen. "The sword of justice is *God's*, (replied the Reformer

with equal firmness,) and is given to princes and rulers for one end, which, if they transgress, sparing the wicked and oppressing the innocent, they who, in the fear of God, execute judgment where God has commanded, offend not God, although kings do it not." He added, that the gentlemen of the West were acting strictly according to law; for the act of parliament gave power to all judges within their bounds, to search for and punish those who should transgress its enactments. He concluded with advising her majesty to consider the terms of the *mutual contract* between her and her subjects, and that she could not expect to receive obedience from them, if she did not grant unto them protection, and the execution of justice. The queen broke off the conversation with evident marks of displeasure.

Having communicated what had passed between them to the earl of Murray, (which was the title now conferred on the prior of St. Andrews,) Knox meant to return to Edinburgh next day, without waiting for any further communication with the queen. But a message was delivered him early in the morning, desiring him not to depart until he had again spoken to her majesty. He accordingly met with her west from Kinross, where she took the amusement of hawking. This interview was very different from that of the preceding evening. Waving entirely the subject on which they had differed, she introduced a variety of topics, upon which she conversed with the greatest familiarity and apparent confidence. Lord Ruthven (she said) had offered her a ring; but she could not love him. She knew that he used enchantment;\* and yet he was made one of her privy council. Lethington, she said, was the sole cause of that appointment. "I un-

\* Comp. Knox. Historie. 327, with Keith, App. 125.



derstand," said she, introducing another subject of discourse, "that ye are appointed to go to Dumfries, for the election of a superintendent to be established in these countries." He answered in the affirmative. "But I understand the bishop of Athens\* would be superintendent." "He is one, madam, that is put in election." "If you knew him as well as I do, you would not promote him to that office, nor yet to any other within your kirk." Knox said that he deceived many more than him, if he did not fear God. "Well, do as you will; but that man is a dangerous man."

When Knox was about to take his leave of her majesty, she pressed him to stay. "*I have one of the greatest matters that have touched me since I came into this realm to open to you, and I must have your help in it,*" said she, with an air of condescension and confidence as enchanting as if she had put a ring on his finger. She then entered into a long discourse concerning a domestic difference between the earl of Argyle and his lady. Her ladyship had not, she said, been so circumspect in every thing as she could have wished, but still she was of opinion that his lordship had not treated her in an honest and godly manner. Knox said that he was not unacquainted with the disagreeable variance which had subsisted between that honourable couple, and, before her majesty's arrival in this country, he had effected a reconciliation. On that occasion, the countess had promised not to complain to any creature before acquainting him; and as he had never heard from her, he concluded that there was nothing but concord. "Well," said the queen, "it

\* The bishop of Galloway is the person meant. He was created titular bishop of Athens by the pope, before he obtained a real bishopric. It is printed *Cathenis*, by mistake, instead of *Athenis* in Knox's *Historie*, p. 327.

is worse than ye believe. But do this much, *for my sake*, as once again to put them at unity, and if she behave not herself as she ought to do, she shall find no favour of me; but in any wise let not my lord know that I have requested you in this matter." Then introducing the subject of their reasoning on the preceding evening, she said, "I promise to do as ye required: I shall cause summon all offenders; and ye shall know that I shall minister justice." "I am assured then," said he, "that ye shall please God, and enjoy rest and tranquillity within your realm, which to your majesty is more profitable than all the pope's power can be. Upon this he took his leave of the queen.\*

This interview strikingly exhibits one part of queen Mary's character. It shews how far she was capable of dissembling, what artifice she could employ, and what condescensions she could make, in order to accomplish the schemes upon which she was bent. She had formerly attacked the Reformer on another quarter without success; she now resolved to try if she could soothe his stern temper by flattering his vanity, and disarm his jealousy by strong marks of confidence. There is some reason to think that she partly succeeded in her design. For though he was not very susceptible of flattery, and must have been struck with the sudden change in the queen's views and behaviour, there are few minds that can altogether resist the impression made by the condescending familiarity of persons of superior rank; and our feelings, on such occasions, chide as uncharitable the cold suspicions suggested by our judgment. In obedience to her majesty's request, he wrote a letter to the earl of Argyle, which was not very pleasing to that nobleman. From deference to the opinion which she

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 326—328.

had expressed of the bishop of Galloway, he inquired more narrowly into his conduct, and postponed the election. And the report which he gave of the queen's gracious answer operated in her favour on the public mind.

But if his zeal suffered a temporary intermission, it soon re-kindled with fresh ardour. On the 19th of May the archbishop of St. Andrews and a number of the principal papists were arraigned, by the queen's orders, before the lord Justice General, for transgressing the laws; and having come in her majesty's will, were committed to ward. But this was merely a stroke of policy, to enable her more easily to carry her measures in the parliament which met on the following day.

This was the first Parliament which had met since the queen's arrival in Scotland; and it was natural to expect that they would proceed to ratify the treaty of peace made in July 1560, and the establishment of the protestant religion. If the acts of the former parliament were invalid, as the queen had repeatedly declared, the protestants had no law on their side; they held their religion at the mercy of their sovereign, and might be required, at her pleasure, to submit to popery, as the religion which still possessed the legal establishment. But so well had she laid her plans, such was the effect of her insinuating address, and, above all, so powerful was the temptation of self-interest on the minds of the protestant leaders, that, by general consent they passed from this demand, and lost the only favourable opportunity during the reign of Mary, for giving a legal security to the reformed religion, and thereby removing one principal source of jealousies. An act of oblivion, securing indemnity to those who had been engaged in the late civil war, was indeed passed; but the mode of its enact-



ment virtually implied the invalidity of the treaty in which it had been originally embodied; and the protestants, on their bended knees, supplicated, as a boon from their sovereign, what they had formerly won with their swords, and repeatedly demanded as their right.\* The other acts made to please the more zealous reformers were expressed with such studied and glaring ambiguity, as to offer an insult to their understandings.†

Our Reformer was thunderstruck when first informed of the measures which were in agitation, and could scarcely believe them serious. He immediately procured an interview with some of the principal members of parliament, to whom he represented the danger of allowing that meeting to dissolve without obtaining the ratification of the acts of the preceding parliament, or at least those acts which established the Reformation. They alleged that the queen would never have agreed to call this meeting, if they had persisted in these demands; but there was a prospect of her speedy marriage, and on that occasion they would obtain all their wishes. In vain he reminded them that poets and painters had represented *Occasion* with a bald hind-head; in vain he urged, that the event to which they looked forward would be accompanied with difficulties of its own, which would require all their skill and circumspection. Their determination was fixed. He now perceived the full extent of the queen's dissimulation; and the selfishness and servility of the protestant leaders affected him deeply.

So hot was the altercation between the earl of Murray and him on this subject, that an open rap-

\* Spottiswood, 188. "We are very much obliged to the information of archbishop Spottiswood" for this, says Keith. History, 240.

† Knox, 331. Keith, 240.

ture ensued. He had long looked upon that nobleman as one of the most steady and sincere adherents to the reformed cause; and therefore felt the greater disappointment at his conduct. Under his first irritation he wrote a letter to the earl, in which, after reminding him of his condition at the time when they first became acquainted in London,\* and the honours to which providence had now raised him, he solemnly renounced friendship with him as one who preferred his own interest and the pleasure of his sister to the advancement of religion, left him to the guidance of the new counsellors which he had chosen, and exonerated him from all future concern in his affairs. This variance, which continued nearly two years, was very gratifying to the queen and others, who disliked their former familiarity, and failed not (as Knox informs us) to “cast oil into the flame, until God did quench it by the water of affliction.”†

Before the dissolution of the parliament, the Reformer embraced an opportunity of disburdening his mind in the presence of the greater part of the mem-

\* I have not been able to ascertain the time at which the earl of Murray and the Reformer first became acquainted. It was probably soon after Knox came into England, in the reign of Edward VI. A popish writer has mentioned their meeting, and grafted upon it the calumny, current among the party, that the earl had formed the ambitious project of wresting the crown from his sister, and placing it on his own head. “Johann Knox deceavit” him, says he. “in S. Pauls kirk in Londone, bringand him in consait, that God had chosin him extraordinarilie as ane *Josias* to be king of Scotland, to rute out idolatrie, and to plant the licht of his new evangel: quhair thay convenit in this manner, That the prior of Sanct Androis, erl of Murray, sould mentene the new *Elias* aganis the priestis of Baal, (for sua blasphemuslie he namit the priestes of Christ Jesus.) And the neu *Elias* sould fortifie the new *Josias*, be procuring the favour of the people aganis *Jesabel*, blaspheming maist impudentlie the queenis M.” Nicol Furne’s Disputation, p. 156.

† Knox, *Historie*, p. 331.

bers assembled in his church. After discoursing of the great mercy of God shewn to Scotland, in marvellously delivering them from bondage of soul and body, and of the deep ingratitude which he perceived in all ranks of persons, he addressed himself particularly to the nobility. He praised God that he had an opportunity of pouring out the sorrows of his heart in their presence, who could attest the truth of all that he had spoken. He appealed to their consciences if he had not, in their greatest extremities, exhorted them to depend upon God, and assured them of preservation and victory, if they preferred his glory to their own lives and secular interests. "I have been with you in your most desperate temptations (continued he, in a strain of impassioned eloquence :) in your most extreme dangers I have been with you. St. Johnston, Cupar-moor, and the Craggs of Edinburgh, are yet recent in my heart ; yea, that dark and dolorous night wherein all ye, my lords, with shame and fear, left this town, is yet in my mind, and God forbid that ever I forget it ! What was, I say, my exhortation to you, and what has fallen in vain of all that ever God promised unto you by my mouth, ye yourselves yet live to testify. There is not one of you against whom was death and destruction threatened perished, and how many of your enemies has God plagued before your eyes ? Shall this be the thankfulness that ye shall render unto your God ? To betray his cause, when ye have it in your hands to establish it as you please ?" He saw nothing (he said) but a cowardly desertion of Christ's standard. Some had even the effrontery to say that they had neither law nor parliament for their religion. They had the authority of God for their religion, the truth of which was independent of human laws ; but it was also accepted



within this realm in public parliament ; and that parliament he would maintain to have been as lawful as any ever held in the kingdom.

In the conclusion of his discourse, he adverted to the reports of her majesty's marriage, and the princes who courted this alliance ; and (desiring the audience to mark his words,) predicted the consequences which were to be dreaded, if ever the nobility consented that their sovereign should marry a papist.

Protestants as well as papists were offended with the freedom of this sermon, and some who had been most familiar with the preacher now shunned his company. Flatterers were not awanting to run to the queen, and inform her that John Knox had preached against her marriage. After surmounting the opposition to her measures, and managing so successfully the haughty and independent barons of her kingdom, Mary was incensed to think that there should yet be one man of obscure condition, who ventured to condemn her proceedings ; and as she could not tame his stubbornness, she determined to punish his temerity. Knox was ordered instantly to appear before her. Lord Ochiltree, with several gentlemen, accompanied him to the palace ; but the superintendent of Angus alone was allowed to go with him into the royal presence.

Her majesty received him in a very different manner from what she had done at Lochleven. Never had prince been handled (she passionately exclaimed) as she was : she had borne with him in all his rigorous speeches against herself and her uncles ; she had sought his favour by all means ; she had offered unto him audience whenever he pleased to admonish her. " And yet (said she) I cannot be quit of you. I vow to God I shall be once revenged." —

On pronouncing these words with great violence, she burst into a flood of tears which interrupted her speech. When the queen had composed herself, he proceeded calmly to make his defence. Her Grace and he had (he said) at different times been engaged in controversy, and he never before perceived her offended with him. When it should please God to deliver her from the bondage of error in which she had been trained through want of instruction in the truth, he trusted that her majesty would not find the liberty of his tongue offensive. Out of the pulpit he thought few had occasion to be offended with him; but there he was not master of himself, but bound to obey Him who commanded him to speak plainly, and to flatter no flesh on the face of the earth.

“But what have you to do with my marriage?” said the queen. He was proceeding to state the extent of his commission as a preacher, and the reasons which led him to touch on that delicate subject; but she interrupted him by repeating her question; “What have ye to do with my marriage? Or what are *you* in this commonwealth?”—“A subject born within the same, madam,” replied the Reformer, piqued by the last question, and the contemptuous tone in which it was proposed. “And albeit I be neither earl, lord, nor baron in it, yet has God made me (how abject that ever I be in your eyes) a profitable member within the same. Yea, madam, to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any of the nobility; for both my vocation and conscience requires plainness of me. And therefore, madam, to yourself I say that which I spake in public place: Whensoever the nobility of this realm shall consent that ye be subject to an unfaithful hus-

band, they do as much as in them lieth to renounce Christ, to banish his truth from them, to betray the freedom of this realm, and perchance shall in the end do small comfort to yourself." At these words, the queen began again to weep and sob with great bitterness. The superintendent, who was a man of mild and gentle spirit, tried to mitigate her grief and resentment: he praised her beauty and her accomplishments; and told her, that there was not a prince in Europe who would not reckon himself happy in gaining her hand. During this scene, the severe and inflexible mind of the Reformer displayed itself. He continued silent, and with unaltered countenance, until the queen had given vent to her feelings. He then protested, that he never took delight in the distress of any creature; it was with great difficulty that he could see his own boys weep when he corrected them for their faults, far less could he rejoice in her majesty's tears: but seeing he had given her no just reason of offence, and had only discharged his duty, he was constrained, though unwillingly, to sustain her tears, rather than hurt his conscience, and betray the commonwealth through his silence.

This apology inflamed the queen still more: she ordered him immediately to leave her presence, and wait the signification of her pleasure in the adjoining room. There he stood as "one whom men had never seen;" all his friends (lord Ochiltree excepted) being afraid to shew him the smallest countenance. In this situation he addressed himself to the court ladies, who sat in their richest dress in the chamber. "O fair ladies, how plesing war this lyfe of yours, if it sould ever abyde, and then, in the end, that we might pas to hevin with all this gay gear!" Having engaged them in a conversation, he passed the time till Erskine came and informed



him, that he was allowed to go home until her majesty had taken further advice. The queen insisted to have the judgment of the lords of Articles, whether the words he had used in the pulpit were not actionable; but she was persuaded to desist from a prosecution. “And so that storme quietit in appearance, but nevir in the hart.”\*

No expressions are sufficiently strong to describe the horror which many feel at the monstrous insensibility and inhumanity of Knox, in remaining unmoved, while “youth, beauty, and royal dignity”† were dissolved in tears before him. Enchanting, surely, must the charms of the queen of Scots have been, and iron-hearted the Reformer who could resist their impression, when they continue to this day to exercise such a sway over the hearts of men, that even grave and serious authors, not addicted to the language of gallantry and romance, can protest that they cannot read of the tears which she shed on this occasion, without feeling an inclination to weep along with her.‡ There may be some, however, who, knowing how much real misery there is in the world, are not disposed to waste their feelings unnecessarily, and who are of opinion, that there was not much to commiserate in the condition of the queen, nor to reprobate in the conduct of the Reformer. Considering that she had been so fortunate in her measures, and found her nobility so ready to gratify her wishes, the passion by which she suffered herself to be transported was extravagant, and her tears must have been those of anger and not of grief. On the other hand, when we consider that Knox was at this time deserted by

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 332—334.

† See Note OO.

‡ *Missionary Magazine*, vol. xv. p. 311, 312. It is rather a curious circumstance, that Mary, when she pronounced the words which made the tear of sympathy to start into the eye of the tender-hearted reviewer, was *laughing* immoderately. *Comp. Knox. Historie*, p. 340.

his friends, and stood almost alone in resisting the will of a princess, who accomplished her measures chiefly by caresses and tears, we may be disposed to form a more favourable idea of his conduct and motives. We behold not, indeed, the enthusiastic lover, mingling his tears with those of his mistress, and vowing to revenge her wrongs; nor the man of nice sensibility, who loses every other consideration in the gratification of his feelings; but we behold what is more rare, the stern patriot, the rigid reformer, who, in the discharge of his duty, and in a public cause, can withstand the tide of tenderness as well as the storm of passion. There have been times when such conduct was regarded as the proof of a superior mind; and the man who, from such motives, "hearkened not to the wife of his bosom, nor knew his own children," has been the object not of censure, but admiration, in sacred\* as well as pagan story.

Fertur pudicæ conjugis osculum,  
 Parvosque natos, ut capitis minor,  
 Ab se removisse, et virilem  
 Torvus humi posuisse vultum.      HOR. lib. iii. Od. v.

When Knox lay under the displeasure of the court, and had lost the confidence of his principal friends, his enemies judged it a favourable opportunity for attacking him in (what was universally allowed to be irreproachable) his moral conduct. At the very time that he was engaged in scrutinizing the scandal against Methven, and inflicting upon him the highest censure of the church, it was alleged that he himself was guilty of a similar crime. Euphemia Dundas, an inhabitant of Edinburgh, inveighing one day, in the presence of a circle of her acquaintances, against the protestant doctrine and ministers, said, among other things, that John Knox had been a

\* Deut. xxxiii. 9.

common whoremonger all his days, and that, within a few days past, he “was apprehendit and tane furth of ane killogye with ane commoun hure.” This might perhaps have been passed over by Knox and the church as an effusion of popish spleen, and female scandal ; but the recent occurrence at Jedburgh, the situation in which the Reformer at present stood, the public manner in which the charge had been brought, and the specification of a particular instance, seemed to them to justify and call for a legal prosecution. Accordingly, the clerk of the General Assembly, on the 18th of June, gave in a formal representation and petition to the town council, praying that the woman might be called before them, and the matter examined ; that, if the accusation was found true, the accused might be punished with all rigour without partiality ; and that, if false, the accuser might be dealt with according to the demerit of her offence. She was called, and, appearing before the council, *flatly refused* that she had ever used any such words ; although Knox’s procurator afterwards produced respectable witnesses to prove that she had spoken them.\*

This convicted calumny, which never gained the smallest credit at the time, would scarcely have deserved notice, had it not been revived, after the Reformer’s death, by the popish writers, who, having caught hold of the report, and dressed it out in all the horrid colours which malice, or credulity could suggest, circulated it industriously, by their publications, through the continent. Though I had not been able to trace these slanders to their source ; the atrocity of the imputed crimes, the unspotted reputation which the accused uniformly maintained

\* See Note PP.



among all his contemporaries, the glaring self-contradictions of the accusers, and, above all, the notour spirit of slander and wanton defamation for which they have long been stigmatized in the learned world, would have been ground sufficient for rejecting such charges with detestation. Those who are acquainted with the writings of that period will not think that I speak too strongly; those who are not may be in some degree satisfied as to this, by looking into the notes.\*

The queen flattered herself that she had at last caught the Reformer in an offence, which would infallibly subject him to exemplary punishment. During her residence at Stirling, in the month of August, the domestics whom she left behind her in Holyroodhouse celebrated the popish worship with greater publicity than had been usual when she herself was present; and at the time when the sacrament of the supper was dispensed in Edinburgh, they revived certain superstitious practices which had been laid aside by the Roman Catholics, since the establishment of the Reformation. This boldness offended the protestants, and some of them went down to the palace to mark the inhabitants who repaired to the service. Perceiving numbers entering, they burst into the chapel, and presenting themselves at the altar, which was prepared for mass, asked the priest, how he durst be so *malapert* as to proceed in that manner, when the queen was absent? Alarmed at this intrusion, the mistress of the household dispatched a messenger to the comptroller (who was attending sermon in St. Giles's church,) desiring him to come instantly to save her life and the palace. Having hurried down, accompanied

\* See Note QQ.

with the magistrates, and a guard, the comptroller found every thing quiet and no appearance of tumult, except what was occasioned by the company which he brought along with him.\* When the report of this affair was conveyed to the queen, she declared her resolution not to return to Edinburgh unless this riot was punished, and indicted two of the protestants, who had been most active, to stand trial “for forethought felony, hamesuckin, and invasion of the palace.” Fearing that she intended to proceed to extremities against these men, and that their condemnation was a preparative to some hostile attempts against their religion, the protestants in Edinburgh resolved that Knox, agreeably to a commission, should write a circular letter to the principal gentlemen of their persuasion, informing them of the circumstances, and requesting their presence on the day of trial. He wrote the letter according to their request.† A copy of it having come into the hands of Sinclair, bishop of Ross, and president of the Court of Session, who was a great personal enemy to Knox, he conveyed it immediately to the queen at Stirling. She communicated it to the privy council, who, to her great satisfaction,

\* Spottiswood gives a different account of this affair, which has been adopted by different writers. He not only says that the protestants “forced the gates ;” but that “some (of the papists) were taken and carried to prison, many escaped the back way with the priest himself.” *History*, p. 188. But he could not have the opportunity of being so well acquainted with the circumstances as Knox, whose account is totally irreconcilable with the archbishops. He expressly says, that besides bursting into the chapel, and addressing the priest as above mentioned, “no farther was done or said.” *Historie*, p. 335, 336. Had some of the papists been carried to prison, he never could have given such an account as he did, not only in his history, but also in his circular letter, which was produced at his trial, without any contradiction on this head.

† Knox, *Historie*, p. 336, 337.

pronounced it *treasonable* ; but to give the greater solemnity to the proceedings, it was resolved that an extraordinary convention of the counsellors and other noblemen should be called to meet at Edinburgh, in the end of December, to try the cause. The Reformer was summoned to appear before this convention.\*

Previous to the day of trial, great influence was used in private to persuade or intimidate him to acknowledge a fault, and throw himself on the queen's mercy. This he peremptorily refused to do. The master of Maxwell (afterwards lord Herries,) with whom he had long been very intimate, threatened him with the loss of his friendship, and told him that he would repent, if he did not submit to the queen, for men would not bear with him as they had hitherto done. He replied, that he did not understand such language ; he had never opposed her majesty except in the article of religion, and surely it was not meant that he should bow to her in that matter ; if God stood by him (which he would do as long as he confided in him, and preferred His glory to his own life,) he regarded little how men should behave towards him ; nor did he know wherein they had borne with him, unless in hearing the word of God from his mouth, which if they should reject, he would mourn for them, but the danger would be their own.

The earl of Murray, and secretary Maitland, sent for him to the clerk register's house, and had a long

\* It has been doubted, whether this convention acted as a court of judicature in Knox's trial, or met merely to determine whether he should be brought to a judicial trial. Dalryell's *Cursory Remarks*, prefixed to *Scottish poems*, vol. i. 72. It is evident that it was not an ordinary or proper meeting of the privy council. The justice general, the lord advocate, and the other law-lords were present. Knox, *Historie*, p. 339, 340.



conversation with him to the same purpose. They represented the pains which they had taken to mitigate the queen's resentment, and that nothing could save him but a timely submission. He gave them the same answer, that he never would confess a fault when he was conscious of none, and had not learned to cry treason at every thing which the multitude called treason, nor to fear what they feared. The wily secretary endeavoured to bring on a dispute on the subject, and to draw from him the defence which he meant to make for himself; but Knox, aware of his craft, declined the conversation, and told him that it would be foolish to intrust with his defences one who had already prejudged his cause.

On the day appointed for the trial, the public anxiety was greatly raised, and the palace-yard, with all the avenues, was crowded with people, who waited to learn the result. The pannel was conducted to the chamber in which the lords were already assembled, and engaged in consultation. When the queen had taken her seat, and perceived Knox standing uncovered at the foot of the table, she burst into a loud fit of laughter. "That man," she, said, "had made her weep, and shed never a tear himself: she would now see if she could make him weep." The secretary opened the proceedings, by stating, in a speech addressed to the Reformer, the reasons why the queen had convened him before her nobility. "Let him acknowledge his own handwriting," said the queen, "and then we shall judge of the contents of the letter." A copy of the circular letter being handed to him, he looked at the subscription, and said that it was his; and though he had subscribed a number of blanks, he had such confidence in the fidelity of the scribe, that he was ready to acknowledge both the subscription and

the contents. "You have done more than I would have done," said Maitland; "Charity is not suspicious," replied the other. "Well, well," said the queen, "read your own letter, and then answer to such things as shall be demanded of you." "I will do the best I can," said he; and having read the letter with an audible voice, returned it to the queen's advocate, who was commanded to accuse him.

"Heard you ever, my lords, a more despitiful and treasonable letter?" said the queen, looking round the table. "Mr. Knox are you not sorry from your heart, and do you not repent that such a letter has passed your pen, and from you has come to the knowledge of others?" said Maitland. "My lord secretary, before I repent I must be taught my offence."—"Offence! if there were no more but the convocation of the queen's lieges, the offence cannot be denied."—"Remember yourself, my lord there is a difference between a lawful convocation and an unlawful. If I have been guilty in this, I offended oft since I came last into Scotland; for what convocation of the brethren has ever been to this hour, unto which my pen served not?"—"Then was then, and now is now," said the secretary; "we have no need of such convocations as sometimes we have had."—"The time that has been is even now before my eyes," rejoined the Reformer; "for I see the poor flock in no less danger than it has been at any time before, except that the devil has got a vizor upon his face. Before he came in with his own face, discovered by open tyranny, seeking the destruction of all that refused idolatry; and then, I think, you will confess the brethren lawfully assembled themselves for defence of their lives: and now the devil comes under the cloak of justice, to do that which God would not suffer him to do by strength."—

“What is this?” interrupted her majesty, who was offended that the pannel should be allowed such liberty of speech, and thought that she could bring him more closely to the question. “What is this? Methinks you trifle with him. Who gave him authority to make convocation of my lieges? Is not that treason?” “No, madam,” replied lord Ruthven, displeased at the active keenness which the queen shewed in the cause; “for he makes convocation of the people to hear prayer and sermon almost daily; and whatever your Grace or others will think thereof, we think it no treason.”—“Hold your peace,” said the queen; “and let him make answer for himself.”—“I began, madam,” resumed Knox, “to reason with the secretary (whom I take to be a better dialectitian than your Grace) that all convocations are not unlawful; and now my lord Ruthven has given the instance.”—“I will say nothing against your religion, nor against your convening to your sermons; but what authority have you to convocate my subjects when you will, without my commandment?” He answered, that at his own will he had never convened four persons in Scotland, but at the orders of his brethren he had given many advertisements, and great multitudes had assembled; and if her Grace complained that this had been done without her command, he would answer, that so was all that had been done as to the reformation of religion in this kingdom. He must, therefore, be convicted by a just law, before he would profess sorrow for what he had done: he thought he had done no wrong.

“You shall not escape so,” said the queen. “Is it not treason, my lords, to accuse a prince of *cruelty*? I think there be acts of parliament against such whisperers.” Several of their lordships said that there were such laws. “But wherein can I be ac-



cused of this?"—"Read this part of your own bill," said the queen, who shewed herself an acute prosecutor. She then caused the following sentence to be read from his letter: "This fearful summons is directed against them, [the two persons who were indicted] to make no doubt a preparative on a few, that a door may be opened to execute *cruelty* upon a greater multitude."—"Lo!" exclaimed the queen exultingly; "what say you to that?" The eyes of the assembly were fixed on the pannel, anxious to know what answer he would make to this charge.

"Is it lawful for me, madam, to answer for myself? or, shall I be condemned unheard?"—"Say what you can: for I think you have enough to do."—"I will first then desire of your Grace, madam, and of this most honourable audience, Whether your Grace knows not, that the obstinate papists are deadly enemies to all such as profess the gospel of Jesus Christ, and that they most earnestly desire the extermination of them, and of the true doctrine that is taught within this realm?"—"The queen was silent; but the lords, with one voice, exclaimed, "God forbid, that ever the lives of the faithful, or yet the staying of the doctrine stood in the power of the papists! for just experience has taught us what cruelty lies in their hearts."—"I must proceed then," said the Reformer. "Seeing that I perceive that all will grant, that it were a barbarous thing to destroy such a multitude as profess the gospel of Christ within this realm, which oftener than once or twice they have attempted to do by force,—they, by God and by his providence being disappointed, have invented more crafty and dangerous practices, to wit, to make the prince a party under colour of law; and so what they could not do by open force, they shall perform by crafty deceit. For who thinks, my lords, that the insatiable cruelty of the papists (within this

realm I mean) shall end in the murdering of these two brethren, now unjustly summoned, and more unjustly to be accused?—And therefore, madam, cast up, when you list, the acts of your parliament; I have offended nothing against them; for I accuse not, in my letter, your Grace, nor yet your nature, of cruelty. But I affirm yet again, that the pestilent papists, who have inflamed your Grace against those poor men at this present, are the sons of the devil, and therefore must obey the desires of their father, who has been a liar and manslayer from the beginning.”—“You forget yourself! you are not now in the pulpit,” said one of the lords. “I am in the place where I am demanded of conscience to speak the truth; and therefore the truth I speak, impugn it whoso list.” He added, again addressing the queen, that persons who appeared to be of honest, gentle, and meek natures, had often been corrupted by wicked counsel; that the papists who had her ear were dangerous counsellors, and such her mother had found them to be.

Mary, perceiving that nothing was to be gained by reasoning, began to upbraid him with his harsh behaviour to her, at their last interview. He spake “fair enough” at present before the lords, she said, but on that occasion he caused her to shed many salt tears, and said, “he set not by her weeping.” This drew from him a vindication of his conduct, in which he gave a narration of that conference. After this, the secretary, having spoken with the queen, told Knox that he was at liberty to return home for that night. “I thank God and the queen’s majesty,” said he.

When Knox had withdrawn, the judgment of the nobility was taken respecting his conduct. All of them, with the exception of the immediate depend-

ents of the court, voted, that he was not guilty of any breach of the laws. The secretary, who had assured the queen of his condemnation, was enraged at this decision. He brought her majesty, who had retired before the vote, again into the room, and proceeded to call the votes a second time in her presence. This attempt to overawe them incensed the nobility. "What!" said they, "shall the laird of Lethington have power to controul us? or, shall the presence of a woman cause us to offend God, and to condemn an innocent man, against our consciences?" With this they repeated their votes, absolving him from all offence, and praising his modest appearance and judicious defences.

Mary was unable to conceal her mortification and displeasure, at this unexpected acquittal. When the bishop of Ross, who had been the informer, gave his vote on the same side with the rest, she taunted him openly in the presence of the court. "Trouble not the child! I pray you trouble him not! for he is newly wakened out of his sleep. Why should not the old fool follow the footsteps of those that have passed before him?" The bishop replied coldly, that her majesty might easily know, that his vote was not influenced by partiality to the accused. "That nicht was nyther dancing nor fiddeling in the court, for madam was disappointed of hir purpose, quhilk was to have had Johne Knox in hir will, be vote of hir nobility."\*

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 338—343. The account of the trial given by Calderwood, in his MS. has been compared with that of Knox, and exactly agrees with it.



## PERIOD VII.

FROM HIS ACQUITTAL, FROM A CHARGE OF TREASON, BY  
THE PRIVY COUNCIL, ANNO 1563, TO HIS BEING STRUCK  
WITH APOPLEXY, ANNO 1570.

THE indignation of the queen at the Reformer's escape from punishment did not soon abate,\* and the effects of it fell both upon the courtiers who had voted for his exculpation, and upon those who had opposed it. The earl of Murray was among the former;† Maitland among the latter. In order to appease her, they again attempted to persuade him to condescend to some voluntary submission to her; and they engaged that all the punishment which should be inflicted on him would be merely to go within the walls of the castle, and return again to his own house. But he refused to make any such compliances, by which he would throw discredit on the judgment of the nobility who had acquitted him, and confess himself to have been a mover of sedition. Disappointed in this, they endeavoured to injure him by whispers and detraction, circulating that he had no authority from his brethren for what he had done; and that he arrogated a papal and arbitrary power over the Scottish church, issuing his letters, and exacting obedience to them. These charges

\* Keith, 248, 251.

† In a letter of Randolph, 27th Feb. 1564, there is mention made of "some unkindness between Murray and the queen, about Knox, whose parte he [Murray] taketh." Keith, 249.

were very groundless and injurious ; for there never was perhaps any one who had as much influence, that was so careful in avoiding all appearance of assuming superiority over his brethren, or acting by his own authority, in matters of public and common concern.

In the General Assembly which met in the close of this year, he declined taking any share in the debates. When their principal business was settled, he requested liberty to speak on an affair which concerned himself. He stated what he had done in writing the late circular letter, the proceedings to which it had given rise, and the surmises which were still circulated to his prejudice ; and insisted that the church should now examine his conduct in that matter, and particularly that they should declare whether or not they had given him a commission to advertise the brethren, when he foresaw any danger threatening their religion, or any difficult case which required their advice. The courtiers strenuously opposed the decision of this question ; but it was taken up, and the Assembly, by a great majority, found that he had been burthened with such a commission, and, in the advertisement which he had lately given, had not gone beyond the bounds of his commission.\*

Knox had remained a widower upwards of three years. But in March 1564, he contracted a second marriage with *Margaret Stewart*,† daughter of lord Ochiltree,‡ a nobleman of amiable disposi-

\* Keith, 527. Knox, 344, 345.

† Randolph, in a letter to Cecil, 18th March, 1563-4, says : " Knox askt in church to be marryed to Margrett Steward, the daughter of the lord Ochiltre : " referring to the proclamation of banns. Keith, 251.

‡ Lord Ochiltree was descended from Robert, duke of Albany, second son of king Robert II. His father exchanged the lands and title of *Eravdale*, for those of *Ochiltree*. Douglas's Peerage, 522.

tions,\* who had been long familiar with our Reformer, and steadily adhered to him when he was deserted by his other friends. She continued to discharge the duties of a wife to him, with pious and affectionate assiduity, until the time of his death. The popish writers, who envied the honours of the Scottish Reformer, have represented this marriage as a proof of his great ambition; and, in the excess of their spleen, have ridiculously imputed to him the project of aiming to raise his progeny to the throne of Scotland: because the family of Ochiltree were of the blood royal! They are quite clear, too, that he gained the heart of the young lady by means of sorcery, and the assistance of the devil. But it seems, that powerful as his black-footed second was, he could not succeed in another attempt which he had previously made; for the same writers inform us, that he had paid his addresses to the lady Fleming, eldest daughter to the duke of Castelherault, and was repulsed. The account of the appearance which he made at the time of his marriage, which shall be inserted in the notes, the reader will receive according to the degree of its probability, and the credit which he may think due to the authority upon which it rests.†

The country continued in a state of quietness during the year 1564; but the same jealousies still sub-

Crawford's Renfrew, and Royal House of Stewart, by Semple, part i. p. 92—94. The second son of lord Ochiltree, and brother-in-law of the Reformer, was Sir James Stewart of Bothwellmuir, afterwards the infamous favourite of James VI. who created him earl of Arran. Crawford, in his *Officers of State*, (p. 448.) has published a protestation which he made of his lineage, and title of priority to the duke of Lenox, his rival in James's favour.

\* He was usually called, *the good lord Ochiltree*. Knox says, that he was "a man rather borne to mak peace than to brag upon the calsey." *Historie*, p. 304.

† See Note RR.



sisted between the court and the church. Her majesty's prejudices against the reformed religion were unabated, and she maintained a correspondence with its sworn enemies on the continent, which could not altogether escape the vigilance of her protestant subjects.\* The preachers, on their side, did not relax in their zealous warnings against popery, and concerning the dangers which they apprehended; they complained of the beggary unto which the greater part of their own number was reduced, and of the growing lukewarmness of the protestant courtiers. The latter were uneasy under these reproaches, and, in concert with the queen, were anxious to restrain the license of the pulpit. They began by addressing themselves in private to some of the most moderate and complying of the ministers, whom they gained over, by their persuasions, to a partial approbation of their measures. Having in so far succeeded, they ventured to propose the matter more publicly, and to request the sanction of the leading members of the General Assembly.

Without designing to vindicate the latitude which might be taken by particular preachers at this time, I may say, in general, that a systematic attempt to

\* Robertson's History of Scotland, vol. ii. 108. Lond. 1809. MS. Letters (extracted from the Barberini Library.) Adv. Lib. A. 2. 11. In a letter to the council of Trent, 18th March, 1563-4, Mary expresses her regret that the situation of her affairs (*hujus temporis tanta injuria*) did not permit her to send some of her prelates to that council; and assures them of her great and unalterable devotion to the apostolic See, "*nostra perpetua mente ac voluntate, in ejusdem sedis observantia et submissione.*" In a letter written Jan. 3, the same year, she entreats the cardinal of Lorraine to assure the pope of her resolution to live and die a Catholic. And on the last day of the same month, she writes to his Holiness himself, laments the damnable errors (*damnabili errori*) in which she found her subjects plunged, and informs him that her intention, from the time she had left France, had uniformly been to re-establish the ancient religion.

restrain the liberty of speech in the pulpit (farther than the correction of any occurring excess might require) would have been a measure fraught with danger to the protestant interests. The ministers were the most vigilant and incorrupt guardians of the public safety. Better it is to be awaked with rudeness, or even by a false alarm, than to be allowed to sleep on in the midst of dangers. Who would muzzle the mouth of the wakeful animal, who guards the house against thieves, because the inhabitants are frequently disturbed by his nocturnal vociferation? or substitute in his place, a "dumb dog, that cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber?"

Knox, the freedom and sharpness of whose censures the courtiers felt most deeply, was the person whom they chiefly wished to restrain; but it was no easy matter either to overawe or reason him into silence. In a conference which they demanded with the leading members of the General Assembly, in the month of June, this subject was discussed; and a long debate ensued between Maitland and Knox, on the principal points of his doctrine which gave offence to the court. This debate "admirably displays the talents and character of both the disputants; the acuteness of the former, embellished with learning, but prone to subtilty; the vigorous understanding of the latter, delighting in bold sentiments, and superior to all fear."\* The dispute has been recorded at large by Knox in his History of the Reformation. After giving so full a view of some former disputes in which he was engaged, I must content myself with a brief account of the leading heads of the present.

There were two things which Maitland found fault with in the Reformer's public services; the

\* Dr. Robertson, *ut supra*, p. 109.

mode in which he prayed for her majesty, and the doctrine which he taught as to the authority of princes and duty of subjects. Knox repeated his usual prayer for the queen, and desired to know what was faulty in it. Maitland said, that he prayed for her conversion conditionally, thereby infusing doubts into the minds of the people as to the probability of that event; and he spake of her as under the bondage of Satan, which was an irreverend expression, not fit to be applied to princes. The Reformer replied, that the conduct of her majesty gave just grounds to doubt of any change, and that his strongest expressions were warranted by the plain language of scripture. "Prayers and tears," we have sometimes been reminded, are the only arms which Christians ought to employ against violence. But those who have deprived them of other weapons, have usually envied them the use of these also; and if their prayers have not been smoothed down to the temper of their adversaries, so as to become mere compliments to princes, under colour of an address to the Almighty, they have often been pronounced seditious and treasonable.\*

\* During the reign of Mary of England, the manner in which the protestants prayed for her, in their conventicles, was declared *High Treason*. Act Parl. 1. and 2. Philip and Mary, cap. 9. Nor did the Psalms and prayers of the primitive Christians escape punishment under the *tolerant* emperor Julian. Works of the Rev. Samuel Johnston, p. 20—22. Lond. 1713.

A writer formerly referred to, having mentioned another prayer of Knox, "that God would turn the heart of the queen, or, if his will was otherwise, strengthen the hands and hearts of his chosen, stoutly to withstand the rage of all tyrants," says: "In this prayer we recognize not the spirit of Jesus, but of them who said, *Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them.*" *Missionary Magazine*, xv. 311. Does this writer really mean, that to "withstand the rage of tyrants" is to "command fire from heaven to consume men?" Was Christianity intended to rivet the chains of political servitude upon



The second part of the debate related to Knox's doctrine respecting the limited authority of princes, and the right of the people to controul them in the abuse of their power. Under this head, the lawfulness of suppressing the queen's mass was discussed. Even here, Maitland was hardly pushed by his antagonist, and found it difficult to maintain his ground, after the resistance which he himself had made to the supreme powers, and the principles which he held in common with the Reformer. For it is to be observed, that both parties held that idolatry might justly be punished by death.\* Into this sentiment

the consciences of men? Or, does it deprive them of the right which they had, by the general law of nature, or the particular laws of any country, to defend themselves against tyrannical fury? Persons who talk in this strain do not consider, that they run into the very extreme against which they so loudly declaim, and convert the gospel into a system of politics. I am willing to believe that this writer has not wantonly brought forward charges against the Reformation, and the Reformer; but that he only intended to point out, what he deemed, defects in a work, and character, which he in the main approved. But in such cases more is required than good intentions; and I do not believe that the following summary and sweeping censures can be supported. "He (Knox) maintained that the civil magistrate ought to be subject to the church."—"It seems to have been a part of his constant employment, to excite the people to take up arms whenever he was dissatisfied."—"It never seems to have entered into the minds of the reformers, that Christianity could exist without the protection and support of the magistrate."

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 357, 360.

This was an opinion generally entertained among the Reformers; and it was one ground (though, as we have seen, p. 235, not the only one) upon which they vindicated the penal statutes against the mass and image worship. At the same time, while they laboured to restrain these evils, they discovered no disposition to proceed to capital punishment, even when it was completely in their power. I never read nor heard of an instance, in the time of our Reformer, of a person being put to death, for performing any part of the Roman Catholic worship. If the reason of this disconformity between their opinion and their practice be

they were led in consequence of their having adopted the untenable opinion, that the judicial laws given to the Jewish nation were binding upon Christian nations, as to all offences against the moral law.

In the course of the debate, Knox's colleague, Craig, gave an account of an interesting dispute on the same question, which he had heard in the university of Bologna, in Italy ; in which the judgments of the learned men, and the decision of the question, were strongly in favour of popular liberty, and the limited power of princes.\*

After long conference, Maitland insisted that the votes should be called, and that some order should be established for preventing the recurrence of the evils of which he had complained. But Knox protested against any decision of the question, which belonged to the whole General Assembly ; and the sentiments of the members being divided, the conference broke up without coming to any determinate resolution.†

asked, it may be answered,—their aversion to blood. “God, (says our Reformer, addressing the popish princes who persecuted the protestants,) God will not use his saintes and chosen children to punish you. For with them is alwaies mercie, yea, even although God have pronounced a curse and melediction ; as in the historie of Josua is plaine. But as ye have pronounced wrong and cruel judgement without mercie, so will he punish you by such as in whom there is no mereie.” Answer to an Anabaptist, p. 449.

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 364, 365. Craig, who was rather facile in his disposition, and apt to be moulded by those who were about him, seems afterwards to have recanted the principle which he maintained on this occasion. For I suppose that he is the person who preached the sermon at Linlithgow, mentioned by Hume of Godscroft. *History of the House of Douglas and Angus*, ii. 383, 385. The historian has inserted some very ingenious observations on the subject, by way of strictures on that sermon.

† Knox, 348—366.

In the month of August, Knox went, by appointment of the General Assembly, as visitor of the churches in Aberdeen and the north, where he remained six or seven weeks.\* The subsequent Assembly gave him a similar appointment of Fife and Perthshire.†

Our Reformer's predictions at the last meeting of parliament were now fully realized. Another parliament was held in the end of 1564, but nothing was done for securing the protestant religion.‡ The queen's marriage approached, and the lords demanded this as the condition of their consent; but she artfully evaded the demand, and accomplished her object. While she was arranging her plans for the marriage, she sent for the superintendents of Lothian, Glasgow, and Fife (for Knox was now inadmissible to her presence,) and amused them with fair words. She was not yet persuaded, she said, of the truth of their religion, but she was willing to hear conference and reasoning on the subject: she was even content to attend the public sermons of some of them; and, "above all others, she would gladly hear the superintendent of Angus, for he was a mild and sweet-natured man, with true honesty and uprightness, Sir John Erskine of Dun."§ But as soon as her marriage with lord Darnley was over, she told them in very plain and determined language, "her majesty neither will, nor may leave the religion where-

\* The magistrates of Edinburgh, understanding that Mr. Christopher Goodman was appointed to preach during the absence of their own ministers, directed a committee of their number to wait upon him, and "offer him in their names all honourabill intertenment, and cause the steward of Jhonne Knox hous to keep table to him upoun the town's expensis." Records of Town Council for 23d Aug. 1564.

† Keith, 535, 537, 540.

‡ Knox. *Historie*, p. 368.

§ Ibid. p. 373, 374.



in she has been nourished, and brought up.”\* And there was no more word of hearing either sermon or conference.

The friendship between the earl of Murray and the Reformer was renewed in the beginning of 1565. The latter was placed in a very delicate predicament, by the insurrection under Murray, and the other lords who opposed the queen’s marriage. His father-in-law was one of the number. They professed that the security of the protestant religion was the principal ground of their taking arms; and they came to Edinburgh, to collect men to their standard. But whatever favour he might have for them, he kept himself clear from any engagement.† If he had taken part in this unsuccessful revolt, we need not doubt that her majesty would have embraced the opportunity of punishing him for it, when his principal friends had fled the kingdom.

We find, in fact, that she immediately proceeded against him on a different, but far more slender pretext. The young king, who could be either papist, or protestant as it suited, went sometimes to mass with the queen, and sometimes attended the reformed sermons. To silence the suspicions of his alienation from the reformed religion, circulated by the insurgent lords, he, on the 19th of August, made a solemn appearance in St. Giles’s church, sitting on a throne, which had been prepared for his reception. Knox preached that day on Isa. xxvi. 13, &c. and happened to prolong the service beyond his usual time. In one part of the sermon, he quoted these words of scripture: “I will give children to be their princes, and babes shall rule over them: children

\* Knox, *Historie*, p. 376.

† Goodall says that Knox was engaged with the earl of Murray in a plot for seizing Darnley; but he has not produced the evidence for his assertion. *Life of Queen Mary*, i. 207—209.

are their oppressors, and women rule over them ;” and in another part of it, he mentioned that God punished Ahab, because he did not correct his idolatrous wife Jesabel.\* Though no particular application was made by the preacher, the king applied these passages to himself and the queen, and, returning to the palace in great wrath, refused to taste dinner. The papists, who had accompanied him to church, inflamed his resentment and that of the queen, by their representations.

That very afternoon Knox was taken from bed,† and carried before the privy council. Some respectable inhabitants of the city, understanding his citation, accompanied him to the palace. He was told that he had offended the king, and must desist from preaching as long as their majesties were in Edinburgh. He replied, that “he had spoken nothing but according to his text ; and if the church would command him to speak or abstain, he would obey, so far as the word of God would permit him.”‡

\* Sermon, apud History of the Reformation, Edin. 1644, 4to. Append. 120, 128. Spottiswood says, that Knox, in his sermon, (either doubting the king’s sincerity, or favouring the faction of the nobleman,) “fell upon him with a bitter reproof.” History, 191. But the archbishop does not seem to have read the sermon, which contains no reproof of the king, either bitter or mild. Indeed, the preacher seems to have used, on that occasion, less freedom in the application than ordinary.

† Preface to the Sermon.

‡ Ibid. Records of Town Council, ut infra. Historie, p. 381. In consequence of being called before the privy council, he immediately wrote out the sermon, as exactly according to what he preached as he could, and sent it to the press, to let the impartial see, “upon how small occasions, great offence is now taken.” At the end of it is this postscript: “Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit ; for the terrible roaring of gunnes, and the noise of armour do so pierce my heart, that my soul thirstith to depart.” On the margin are these words: “The castle of Edinburgh was shooting against the exiled for Christ Jesus’ sake.” Then follows the date at which

Spottiswood says, that he not only stood to what he had said in the pulpit, but added, "That as the king, for" the queen's "pleasure, had gone to mass, and dishonoured the Lord God, so should he in his justice make her the instrument of his overthrow. This speech (continues the archbishop's manuscript,) esteemed too bold at the time, came afterwards to be remembered, and was reckoned among other of his prophetic sayings, which certainly were marvelous. The queen, enraged at this answer, burst forth into tears."\*

The report of the inhibition laid upon the Reformer, created great agitation in the city. His colleague, who was appointed to supply his place during the suspension, threatened to desist entirely from preaching. The town council met, and appointed a deputation to wait on their majesties, and request the removal of the inhibition; and in a second meeting, on the same day, they came to an unanimous resolution, that they would "in no man-

the writing was finished. "The last day of August 1565, at four of the clock in the afternoon, written indigestly, but yet truly so farre as memory would serve, if those things that in publike I spake on Sunday, August 19, for the which I was discharged to preach for a time. Be merciful to thy flock, O Lord, and at thy pleasure put end to my misery. JOHN KNOX."

\* Spottiswood, 191, 192. Keith, 546, 547. Keith calls in question the archbishop's narration; because Knox, in his history, does not say that the queen was present, and does not mention the prediction, although "fond enough to catch at and force such things upon his readers." But it should be noticed, that Knox did not write this part of the history; the fifth book being compiled after his death, and not being found in the ancient MSS. See *Advertisement* prefixed to the edition of his *Historie*, Edin. 1732. It must be confessed, however, that Spottiswood's account of this affair is inaccurate in a number of particulars. David Buchanan says that the king had "cast the psalme booke in the fire," which was the cause of Knox's denunciation against him. *Life* prefixed to *History of the Reformation*.



ner of way consent or grant that his mouth be closed," but that he should be desired, "at his pleasure, and as God should move his heart, to proceed forward to true doctrine as before, which doctrine they would approve and abide at to their life's end."\*

It does not appear that he continued any time suspended from preaching. For the King and queen left Edinburgh before the next sabbath,† and the prohibition extended only to the time of their residence in the city. Upon their return, it is probable that the court judged it unadvisable to enforce an order which had already created much discontent, and might alienate the minds of the people still farther from the present administration. Accordingly, we find him exercising his ministry in Edinburgh with the same boldness as formerly. Complaints were made to the council of the manner in which he prayed for the exiled noblemen; but secretary Maitland, who had formerly found so much fault with his prayers, defended them on the present occasion, saying that he had heard them, and they were such as no body could blame.‡

Christopher Goodman had officiated with much acceptance as minister of St. Andrews, since the year 1560; but he was prevailed on, by the solicitations of his friends in England, to return, about this time, to his native country.§ The commissioners from St. Andrews were instructed to petition the General Assembly, which met in December this year, that Knox should be translated from Edinburgh to their city. They claimed a right to him, as he had commenced his ministry among them;

\* Records of Town Council, 23d August, 1565. Keith, 517.

† Knox, *Historie*, p. 381.

‡ Ibid. p. 389.

§ See Note SS.

and they might think that the dissensions between the court and him would induce him to prefer a more retired situation. But the petition was refused \*.

This Assembly imposed on him several important services. He was commissioned to visit the churches in the south of Scotland, and appointed to write “a comfortable letter,” exhorting the ministers, exhorters, and readers, throughout the kingdom, to persevere in the discharge of their functions, which many of them were threatening to throw up, on account of the non-payment of their stipends, and exciting the people among whom they laboured to relieve their necessities†. He had formerly received an appointment to draw up *The Form of Excommunication* and *Public Repentance*.‡ At this time he was required to compose a *Treatise of Fasting*. The Assembly, having taken into consideration the troubles of the country, and the dangers which threatened the whole protestant interest, appointed a general fast to be kept through the kingdom. The form and order to be observed on that occasion they left to be drawn out by Knox and his colleague. As nothing had been hitherto published expressly on this subject, they were authorized to explain the duty, as well as state the reasons which at this time called for that solemn exercise. The whole was ap-

\* Keith, 562.

† Ibid. 533.

‡ The appointment was laid upon him in June 1563. Keith, 525. He does not seem to have finished it till 1567; for this date is added after a prayer at the end of the treatise. Then follows a postscript. “This booke is thought necessary and profitable for the church, and commanded to be printed by the Generall Assemblie.” The order for printing it seems to have been first given by the Assembly in 1568, and renewed in 1571. *Psalmes in Meeter, &c.* (commonly called Knox’s Liturgy) printed by Andro Hart, A. 1611, p. 28, 67. Dunlop’s Confessions ii. 705. 747.

pointed to be ready before the time of the fast, to serve as a directory to ministers and people. The treatise does credit to the compilers, both as to matter and form. It is written in a perspicuous and nervous style. In the grounds assigned for fasting, the critical state of all the reformed churches, the late decree of the Council of Trent for the extirpation of the protestant name, the combination of the popish princes for carrying this into execution, and the barbarities exercised towards their brethren in different countries, are all held forth as a warning to the protestants of Scotland, and urged as calls to repentance and prayer.\*

In fact, strong as their apprehensions were, the danger was nearer to themselves than they imagined. The most zealous and powerful protestants being exiled, the queen determined to carry into execution the design of which she had never lost sight; and while she amused the nation with proclamations against altering the received religion, and tantalized the ministers with offers of more adequate support, was preparing for the immediate restoration of the Roman Catholic worship. No means were left unattempted for gaining over the nobility to that religion. The king openly professed himself a papist, and officiated in some of their most superstitious rites. The earls of Lennox, Cassilis, and Caithness, with lords Montgomery and Seton, did the same.† The friars were employed to preach at Holyroodhouse, and, to gain the favour of the people, endeavoured to imitate the popular method of the protestant preachers.‡ In the beginning of Fe-

\* See Note TT.

† Robertson, App. No. 11. Keith, App. p. 165, 167. Knox, 389, 391.

‡ The friars were so little esteemed, that they soon wearied of preaching. They boasted that they would dispute with the prot-



bruary, 1566, a message arrived from the cardinal of Lorrain, with a copy of the league for the general extirpation of the protestants, and instructions to obtain her subscription to it, and her consent to proceed to extremities against the exiled nobility. Mary scrupled not to set her hand to this league.\* The exiled noblemen were summoned to appear before the parliament on the 12th of March. The lords of the Articles were chosen according to the queen's pleasure; the popish ecclesiastics were restored to their place in parliament; the altars to be erected in St. Giles's church for the Roman Catholic worship were prepared.†

But these measures, when ripe for execution, were blasted, in consequence of a secret engagement which the king had entered into with some of the protestant nobles. The first effect produced by this engagement was the well known assassination of *Rizio*, an unworthy favourite of the queen, who was the principal instigator of the measures against the protestant religion and the banished lords, and had incurred the jealousy of the king, the contempt of the nobility, and the hatred of the people. The removal of this minion from her majesty's counsels and presence would have been a meritorious act; but the manner in which it was accomplished was marked with the barbarous manners of the age.‡

estant ministers; but when the commissioners of the General Assembly waited on their majesties, and requested that this might be granted in their presence, the queen replied, that "sche wald not jeopard her religioun upon sick as wer thare present; for sche knew weill enouch, that the protestants wer more learned. Knox, *Historie*, p. 391.

\* Keith, p. 326. App. 167. Robertson, App. No. 14. Melvil's *Memoirs*, 63, 64.

† Knox, 392, 394. Keith, App. 126. The queen's letter to the archbishop of Glasgow, apud Keith, 331. Goodall and Blackwood, apud Robertson, ii. 145. Lond. 1809.

‡ The noblemen wished to bring Rizio to a public trial, but the

A complete change in the state of the court followed upon this: the popish counsellors fled from the palace; the banished lords returned out of England; and the parliament was prorogued, without accomplishing any of the objects for which it had been assembled. But the queen soon persuaded the weak and uxorious king to desert the noblemen, retire with her to Dunbar, and emit a proclamation, disowning his consent to the late attempt, by which he exposed himself to the contempt of the nation, without regaining her affection. Having collected an army, she returned to Edinburgh, threatening to inflict the most exemplary vengeance on all who had been accessory to the murder of her secretary, and the indignity shewn to her person. She found herself, however, unable to resume her plan for altering the received religion; and the earl of Murray, with the other lords who had opposed her marriage, were soon after pardoned.

When the queen came to Edinburgh, Knox left it, and retired to Kyle. There is no reason to think that he was privy to the conspiracy which proved fatal to Rizio. But it is probable that he had expressed his satisfaction at an event, which contributed to the safety of religion and the commonwealth, if not also his approbation of the conduct of the conspirators.\* At any rate, he was, on other grounds,

king would not wait for this, and determined that he should be seized in the queen's presence, although big with child, that he might have the opportunity of upbraiding her for the wrongs which he had suffered. Keith. App. 121, 122.

\* King James VI. having found great fault with Knox for approving of the assassination of Rizio, one of the ministers said, that "the slaughter of David [Rizio,] so far as it was the work of God, was allowed by Mr. Knox, and not otherwise." Cald. MS. ad Ann. 1591. Knox himself does not, however, make this qualification, when he mentions the subject incidentally, Historie. p. 86.

sufficiently obnoxious to the queen; and as her resentment, on the present occasion, was exceedingly inflamed, it was deemed prudent for him to withdraw.\*

Having, at last, “got quit” of one who had long been troublesome to her, the queen was determined to prevent his return to the capital. We need not doubt that the town-council and inhabitants, who had formerly refused to agree to his suspension from preaching for a short time, would exert themselves to obtain his restoration. But she resisted the importunities of all his friends. She was even unwilling that he should find a refuge within the kingdom, and wrote to a nobleman in the west country, with whom he resided, to banish him from his house.† It does not appear that he returned to Edinburgh, or, at least, that he resumed his ministry in it, until the queen was deprived of the government.

Being banished from his flock, he judged this a favourable opportunity for paying a visit to England. Parental affection, on the present occasion, increased the desire which he had long felt to accomplish this journey. His two sons had some time ago been sent by him into that kingdom, probably at the desire of their mother’s relations, to obtain their education in some of the English seminaries. Having obtained the queen’s safe conduct, he applied to

\* Knox, *Historie*, 395, and *Answer to Tyrie*, A. iiij.

† Letter from archbishop Grindal to Bullinger, 17th August, 1566. Strype’s *Grindal*, App. 20. Letter from bishop Parkhurst, written in December, 1566. Burnet’s *Hist. of Reformation*, iii. App. No. 91. In the Assembly which met in June this year, Mr. John Craig desired that “John Carnes, who had read prayers, and exhorted four years and more in Edinburgh, and had weill profited,—might be joyned with him as colleague in the kirk of Edinburgh, *in respect he was alone.*” Keith, 560.



the General Assembly, which met in December, 1566, for their liberty to remove. They readily granted it, upon condition of his returning against the time of their next meeting in June; and, at the same time, gave him a most ample and honourable testimonial, in which they describe him as “a true and faithful minister, in doctrine pure and sincere, in life and conversation in our sight inculpable,” and one who “has so fruitfully used that talent granted to him by the Eternal, to the advancement of the glory of his godly name, to the propagation of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, and edifying of them who heard his preaching, that of duty we most heartily praise his godly name, for that so great a benefit granted unto him for our utility and profit.”\*

The Reformer was charged with a letter from the Assembly, to the bishops and ministers of England, interceding for lenity to such of their brethren as scrupled to use the sacerdotal dress, enjoined by the laws. The controversy on that subject was at this time carried on with great warmth among the English clergy. It is not improbable, that the Assembly interfered in this business at the desire of Knox, to whom the composition of the letter was committed.† He could not have forgotten the trouble which he himself had suffered on a similar ground, and he had a high regard for many of the scruplers. This interposition did not procure for them any relief. Even though the superior clergy had been more zealous to obtain it than they were, Elizabeth was inflexible, and would listen neither to the supplica-

\* Keith, 564.

† Ibid. 565, 566. Knox. 402, 403. Spottiswood, 198, 199. The letter was subscribed by “John Davidson, for James Nicholsson, writer and clarke of the church of Edinburgh.” Strype’s Life of Archbishop Parker. App. 88.

tious of her bishops, nor the advice of her counsellors. Knox's good opinion of the English queen does not seem to have been improved by this visit.\*

There was one piece of public service which he performed, before undertaking his journey to England. On the 23d of December, the queen granted a commission to the archbishop of St. Andrews, under the Privy Seal, restoring him to his ancient jurisdiction, which had been abolished, in 1560, by act of parliament.† This step was taken, partly to prepare for the restoration of the popish religion, and partly to facilitate another dark design which was soon after disclosed. The protestants could not fail to be both alarmed and enraged at this daring measure. The Reformer, moved both by his own zeal, and the advice of his brethren, addressed a circular letter to the principal protestants in the kingdom, requesting their immediate advice on the measures most proper to be adopted on this occasion, and inclosing a copy of a proposed supplication to the queen. This letter discovers all the ardour of the writer's spirit, called forth by such an alarming occurrence. After mentioning the late acts for the provision of the ministry,‡ by which the queen attempted to blind them, he says: "How that any such assignation, or any promise made

\* Speaking of England, he says: "And yet is sche that now rigneth over thame nether gude protestant, nor yet resolute papist; let the warld judge quhilk is the third." *Historie*, p. 277. By comparing p. 269, it appears that this was written by him in 1567, after his return from England.

† Laings *History of Scotland*, vol. i. 75, 76. This historian has refuted the charges of forgery which Whitaker had brought against Knox and Calderwood on this head. *Ibid.* p. 78, 79.

‡ Keith, p. 561, 562. The occurrence which had taken place, helps to explain the coldness with which the Assembly received the information of these acts in their favour. *Ibid.* p. 563.

thereof, can stand in any stable assurance, when that Roman Antichrist, by just laws once banished from this realm, shall be intrusted above us, we can no ways understand. Yea, farther, we cannot see what assurance can any within this realm, that hath professed the Lord Jesus, have of life, or inheritance, if the head of that odious Beast be cured among us." Having enforced his request, he adds: "As from the beginning we have neither spared substance nor life, so mind we not to faint unto the end, to maintain the same, so long as we can find the concurrence of brethren; of whom (as God forbid,) if we be destitute, yet are we determined never to be subject to the Roman Antichrist, neither yet to his usurped tyranny; but when we can do no farther to suppress that odious Beast, we mind to seal it with our blood to our posterity, that the bright knowledge of Jesus Christ hath banished that Man of Sin, and his venomous doctrine, from our hearts and consciences. Let this our letter and request bear witness before God, before his church, before the world, and before your own consciences."\* The supplication of the General Assembly to the lords of the privy council, on the same subject, also bears marks of the Reformer's pen.†

During the time that Knox was in England, that tragedy, so well known in Scottish history, was acted, which led to a complete revolution in the government of the kingdom, and, contrary to the designs of the actors, threw the power solely into the hands of the protestants. Mary's affection for her husband, which had cooled soon after their marriage, was, from the time of Rizio's assassination, converted into a fixed hatred, which she was at little pains to conceal. In proportion as her mind was

\* Cald. MS. apud Keith, 566, 567.

† Ibid.



alienated from the king, the unprincipled earl of Bothwell grew in her favour. He engrossed the whole management of public affairs, and was treated by her majesty with every mark of regard and affection. In these circumstances, the neglected, unhappy king was decoyed to Edinburgh, lodged in a solitary dwelling at the extremity of the city, and murdered on the night of February 9, 1567; the house in which he lay being blown up with gunpowder.

It would be impertinent to enter here into the controversy respecting the authors of this murder, which has been agitated with uncommon keenness, from that day to the present time. The accusation of the earl of Murray as a party to the deed, which was at first circulated with the evident design of turning away the public mind from the real perpetrators, insinuated, and afterwards brought forward directly in the conference at York, by way of retortion of the charge exhibited by him against the queen, and still kept up by some of the zealous partizans of Mary, is destitute of all proof, and utterly incredible. That Bothwell was the prime contriver and agent in the murder cannot admit of a doubt with any impartial and reasonable inquirer. And that Mary was privy, and accessory to it, by permission and approbation, there is, I think, all the evidence, moral and legal, which could reasonably be expected in a case of the kind. The whole of her behaviour towards the king, from the time that she brought him from Glasgow till she left him on the fatal night; the remissness which she discovered in inquiring into the murder; the shameful manner in which the farce of Bothwell's trial was conducted; and the glaring act (which struck with horror the whole of Europe, and even her own friends) of taking to her bed, with indecent haste, the man who

was stigmatized as the murderer of her husband, afford the strongest presumption of her guilt; and, when taken in connection with the direct evidence arising from letters and depositions, would have been sufficient long ago to shut the mouths of any but the defenders of Mary, queen of Scots.\*

Knox was absent from Edinburgh at the time of the queen's marriage with Bothwell; but his colleague ably supported the honour of his place and order on that occasion, when the whole nobility of Scotland observed a passive and disgraceful silence. Being required by both the parties to publish the banns, he, after considerable reluctance, agreed, by the advice of his session, to make known the purpose; but he at the same time protested from the pulpit, on three several days, and took heaven and earth to witness, that he abhorred and detested the intended marriage as unlawful and scandalous, and solemnly charged the nobility to use their influence to prevent the queen from taking a step, which would cover her with infamy. Being called before the council, and accused of having exceeded the bounds of his commission, he boldly replied that the bounds of his commission were the word of God, good laws, and natural reason, to all of which the proposed marriage was contrary. And Bothwell being present, he charged him with the crime of adultery, the precipitancy with which the process of

\* Those who wish to see the proof of these assertions, may consult Mr. Hume's History of the period, with the notes; Dr. Robertson's, with his Dissertation; and especially Mr. Laing's Dissertation on the subject. This last writer has examined the point with great industry, acuteness, and judgment; established the genuineness of the letters to Bothwell, and cleared the whole evidence from the objections and cavils of the fantastical Whitaker, a late author, who has equalled any of his predecessors in prejudice, and exceeded all of them in the illiberal and virulent abuse with which he has treated the most respectable of his opponents.

divorce had been carried through, the suspicions entertained of collusion between him and his wife, of his having murdered the king, and ravished the queen, all of which would be confirmed, if they carried their purpose into execution.\*

The events which followed in rapid succession upon this infamous marriage; the confederation of the nobility for revenging the king's death, and preserving the person of the infant prince; the flight of Bothwell; the surrender and imprisonment of Mary; her resignation of the government; the coronation of her son; and the appointment of the earl of Murray as regent during his minority, are all well known to the readers of Scottish history.

Knox seems to have returned to his charge at the time that the queen fled with Bothwell to Dunbar. He was present in the General Assembly which met at Edinburgh on the 25th of June, and was delegated by them to go to the west country, and endeavour to persuade the Hamiltons, and others who still stood aloof from the confederated lords, to join with them in settling the distracted affairs of the country, and to attend a general convention of the delegates of the churches, to be held on the 20th of July following.† He was unsuccessful in this negotiation. But the convention was held, and the nobles, barons, and other commissioners, who were present, subscribed a number of articles, with reference to religion and the state of the nation.‡

\* Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 85, 87, 103. Anderson's Collections, ii. 278—283. Knox, 405, 406. Spottiswood, 202, 203. Craig gave in a defence of his conduct to the General Assembly, 30th Dec. 1567; but it was not until the 6th July, 1569, that the Assembly expressed their formal approbation, and declared that "he had done the dewtie of a faithful minister."

† Keith, 574, 577. Knox, 410.

‡ Keith, 581—583. Knox, 411. Spottis. 209, 210.



On the 29th of July, the Reformer preached the sermon at the coronation of king James VI. in the parish church of Stirling.\* He objected to the ceremony of unction, as a Jewish rite, abused under the papacy; but it was deemed inexpedient to depart from the accustomed ceremonial on the present occasion. It was therefore performed by the bishop of Orkney, the superintendents of Lothian and Angus assisting him to place the crown on the king's head.† After the coronation, Knox, along with some others, took instruments, and craved extracts of the proceedings.‡

When the queen was confined by the lords in the castle of Lochleven, they had not resolved in what manner they should dispose of her person for the future. Some proposed that she should be allowed to leave the kingdom; some that she should be imprisoned during life; while others insisted that she ought to suffer capital punishment. Of this last opinion was Knox, with almost all the ministers, and the great body of the people. The chief ground upon which they insisted for this, was not her maladministration in the government, or the mere safety and peace of the commonwealth: which were the reasons upon which the parliament of England, in the following century, proceeded to the execution of her grandson. But they grounded their opinion

\* Knox, 412. Buchanan calls it *luculentam concionem*. Hist. lib. xviii. Oper. Rud. tom. i. p. 366.

† Cald. MS. ii. 67, 68. Anderson's Collections, ii. 249.

‡ Keith. 439. Keith expresses his surprise at Knox's taking instruments in the name of the estates, as he "could properly belong to no estate at all," p. 440. But the record does not say that he took instruments *in the name of the estates*. It is evident that he acted in the name of *the church*, which was considered as having an interest in the transaction, as by one clause of the coronation oath the king engaged to maintain the protestant religion, and the privileges of the church. Ibid. p. 438.

upon the personal crimes with which Mary was charged. Murder and adultery, they reasoned, were crimes to which the punishment of death was allotted by the law of God, and of nations. From this penalty persons of no rank could plead exemption. The ordinary forms of judicial procedure, indeed, made no provision for the trial of a supreme magistrate for these crimes; because the laws did not suppose that such enormous offences would be committed by them. But extraordinary cases required extraordinary remedies; and new offences gave birth to new laws. There were examples in scripture of the capital punishment of princes, and precedents for it in the history of their own country.\*

Upon these grounds, Knox scrupled not publicly to maintain, that the estates of the kingdom ought to bring Mary to a trial, and, if she was found guilty of the murder of her husband, and an adulterous connection with Bothwell, that she ought to be put to death. Throk Morton, the English ambassador, had a conference with him, with the view of mitigating the rigour of this judgment; but though he acquiesced in the resolution adopted by the lords to detain her in prison, he retained his sentiment, and, after the civil war was kindled by her escape, repeatedly said, that he considered the nation as suffering for their criminal lenity.†

The earl of Murray, being established in the regency, directed his attention, at an early period, to the settlement of religion, and the redressing of the principal grievances of which the church had long complained. A parliament being summoned to meet

\* Keith, 421, 422, 428. Throk Morton's Letters, 14th and 18th July; apud Robertson, App. No. 21. "The women (says the ambassador) be most furious and impudent against the queen, and yet the men be mad enough."

† Cald. MS. ii. 73.

in the middle of December, he, with the advice of the privy council, previously nominated certain barons, and commissioners of boroughs, to consult upon and digest such overtures as were proper to be laid before that assembly. With these he joined Knox, and other four ministers, to assist in matters which related to the church. This committee met in the beginning of December, and sat until the opening of the parliament. The record of their proceedings, both as to civil and ecclesiastical affairs, is preserved; and, as many of their propositions were not adopted by the parliament, it is valuable as a declaration of the sentiments of a number of the most able men in the kingdom.\*

On the 15th December, Knox preached at the opening of the parliament, and exhorted them to begin with the affairs of religion, in which case they would find better success in their other business. The parliament ratified all the acts which had been passed, in 1560, in favour of the protestant religion, and against popery. New statutes of a similar kind were added. It was provided, that no prince should afterwards be admitted to the exercise of authority in the kingdom, without taking an oath to maintain the protestant religion; and that none but protestants should be admitted to any office, not hereditary nor held for life. The ecclesiastical jurisdiction, exercised by the different assemblies of the church, was formally ratified, and commissioners appointed to define more exactly the causes which properly came within the sphere of their judgment. The thirds of benefices were appointed to be paid immediately to collectors appointed by the church, who were to account to the exchequer for the overplus after paying the stipends of the ministers. And the funds of provos-

\* See Note UU.



tries, prebendaries, and chaplainries were appropriated to maintain bursars in colleges.\*

In the act ratifying the jurisdiction of the church, Knox was appointed one of the commissioners for drawing out the particular points which pertained to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to be presented to next meeting of parliament. The General Assembly, which met about the same time, gave him a commission, along with some others, to act for them in this matter, and, in general, to consult with the regent and council on such ecclesiastical questions as occurred after the dissolution of that assembly. He was also appointed to assist the superintendent of Lothian in his visitation, and afterwards to visit the churches in Kyle, Carrick, and Cunningham.†

During the regency of Murray, there were no jars between the church and the court, nor any of those unpleasant complaints which had been made at every meeting of the General Assembly before that time, and which were afterwards renewed.‡ All the

\* Cald. MS. ad ann. 1567, and Acts 1. Parl. James VI.

† Ibid. Keith, 585, 586.

‡ Dr. Robertson says, that the regulations respecting the thirds, made by the parliament, December 1567, did not produce any considerable change in the situation of the clergy, and speaks of them as still "groaning under extreme poverty, unable to obtain any thing but fair words and liberal promises." History of Scotland. ii. 250, 312. Lond. 1809. But the law which gave power to the collectors appointed by the church to uplift the thirds, and to pay the stipends, before any thing was allowed to the court, was certainly a considerable benefit. The church herself viewed it in this light. Calderwood says, "that the ministers were now refreshed with the allowance made by the last parliament." MS. ad ann. 1567. And the Assembly, in their letter inviting Willock to return from England, expressly say, "Our enemies, praised be God, are dashed; religion established; *sufficient provision made for ministers,*" &c. Keith, 590. The account which I have given in the text is, I think, supported by the register of the five general assemblies which were held during the regency of Murray.

grievances of which they complained were not, indeed, redressed; and the provision made by law was still inadequate for the support of such an ecclesiastical establishment as the nation required, including the seminaries of education. But the regent not only received the addresses of the general assemblies in a "manner very different from that to which they had been accustomed;" but shewed a disposition to grant their petitions, as far as was in his power. It was chiefly through his influence that the favourable arrangement concerning the thirds of benefices was made; and he endeavoured, though unsuccessfully, to obtain the consent of parliament to the dissolution of the prelacies, and the appropriation of their revenues to the common fund of the church.\*

Our Reformer had now reached that point from which he could take a calm and deliberate view of the dangerous and bustling scene through which he had passed, and the termination to which the arduous struggle, in which he had been so long engaged, was now happily brought. Superstition and ignorance were overthrown and dispelled; true religion was established; the supreme government of the nation was in the hands of one in whose wisdom and integrity he had the greatest confidence; the church was freed from many of those grievances under which she had hitherto groaned, and enjoyed the prospect of obtaining the redress of such as still remained. The work on which his heart had been so ardently set for such a long period, and for the success of which he had so often trembled, had prospered beyond his utmost expectation. He now congratulated himself on being released from all burden of public affairs, and spending the remainder of his

\* Letter from the Regent to the General Assembly. ult. June, 1569. Buik of the Universall Kirk. p. 45—47.

days in religious meditation, and preparation for that event of which his increasing infirmities admonished him.\* He even secretly cherished the wish of resigning his charge in Edinburgh, and retiring to that privacy, from which he had been drawn at the commencement of the Scottish Reformation.†

But “the way of man is not in himself.” Providence had allotted to him further trials of a public nature: he was yet to see the security of the reformed religion endangered, and the country involved in another civil war, even more distressing than the former, in as much as the principal persons on each side were professed protestants. From the time that the government was transferred from Mary to her infant son, and the earl of Murray appointed to the regency, a number of the nobility, with the house of Hamilton at their head, had stood aloof, and, from other motives as much as attachment to the queen, had refused to acknowledge the authority of the regent.‡ Upon the escape of the queen from imprisonment, they collected to her standard,

\* Cald. MS. ii. 108.

† Speaking of the congregation of which he had been pastor at Geneva, he says: “God comfort that dispersed little flock, amongst whom I lived with quietness of conscience, and contentment of heart; and amongst whom I would be content to end my days, if so it might stand with God’s good pleasure. For seeing it hath pleased His Majesty, above all men’s expectations, to prosper the work, for the performing whereof I left that company, I would even as gladly return to them, if they stood in need of my labours, as ever I was glad to be delivered from the rage of mine enemies. I can give you no reason that I should so desire other than that my heart so thirsteth.” Letter, 14th February, 1568. Cald. MS. ii. 91.

‡ The Hamiltons were afraid that the Duke’s title to the succession would be infringed, and were offended that the regency, which they considered as his due, was conferred on Murray. Keith, 423. Throk Morton’s Letters, 14th and 18th July, apud, Robertson, App. No. 21. Spottiswood, 226, 227. Argyle and Huntly had at this time family quarrels with Murray. Keith, 447, 450.



and avowed their design to restore her to the full exercise of the royal authority. In consequence of the defeat at Langside, Mary was driven from the kingdom, and her party broken; and the regent, by his vigorous measures, reduced the whole kingdom to a state of obedience to the king's authority. Despairing to accomplish their object during his life, the partizans of Mary resolved to cut him off by private means.

During the year 1568, two persons were employed to assassinate him; but the design was discovered.\* This did not hinder new machinations. Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, a nephew of the archbishop of St. Andrews, undertook to perpetrate the deed. He was one of the prisoners taken at the battle of Langside, and after being arraigned, condemned, and brought out to execution, had his life given him by the regent.† Some time after he was set at liberty along with the other prisoners.‡ It is said that he was actuated by revenge, on account of an injury which he had received, by detaining one of his forfeited estates, or by the cruel manner in which his wife had been dispossessed of it.§ Whether this

\* The Hist. of King James the Sext, p. 48. Birrell's Diary, 17.

† Ibid. p. 43.

‡ Ibid. p. 63.

§ This story is related in very different ways. One account makes the revenge to turn solely upon the treatment of his wife, who, expecting to be allowed to remain in her house of "Woodislie," was "uncourtouslie and unmercifullie put thairfra, all hir gudis tane fra hir, and schoe left stark naked. The gentillwoman quhat for grief of mynd and exceeding cadd, that schoe had then contractit, conceaved sic madness as was almost incredible." Historie of King James the Sext, p. 74. Spottiswood's account is very different. He says, that Bothwellhaugh had redeemed his life by yielding up the lands of Woodhouseslie, which were given to the justice clerk, and he refusing to part with them, Bothwellhaugh "made his quarrel to the regent, [i. e. revenged himself upon the regent,] who was most innocent, and had restored him

was really the case, or whether it was afterwards circulated to diminish the odium of his crime, and turn it away from his party, cannot perhaps be certainly determined. But it does not appear, that he ever suffered any thing from the regent which can be pleaded as an excuse for his bursting the ties of gratitude by which he was bound to him. Having concerted the design with some of the leading persons of his faction, who incited him to carry it into execution;\* he followed the regent in his progress to Glasgow, Stirling, and Linlithgow; and finding an opportunity in the last of these places, shot him through the body with a musket-ball. The wound proved mortal, and the regent died on the same evening. While some of his friends, who stood round his bed, lamented the excessive lenity which he had shewn to his enemies, and in particular, to his murderer, he replied, with a truly noble and Christian

to life and liberty." Spottis. History, p. 233. Crawford, in his Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland, p. 140. 1st edit. says, that "Murray sent some officers to take possession of the house, who not only turned the gentlewoman out of doors, but," &c. This is the authority which has been relied upon by all those writers who have criminated the regent; yet it is now discovered that this is one of those *impudent forgeries* by which that work is disgraced from beginning to end. See Hist. of King James the Sext, preface.

\* That the assassination of the regent was the effect of a conspiracy and not of personal revenge, is clear from many considerations. Within a few days after his secretary, Mr. John Wood, was murdered in Fife. Anderson's Coll. iii. 84. The house in which Bothwellhaugh concealed himself, while he committed the murder, belonged to the archbishop of St. Andrews, who confessed before his execution, that he "furtherit the deed." Historie of King James the Sext, p. 117. The horse on which the murderer escaped belonged to John Hamilton, abbot of Arbroath, one of the Duke's sons. Cald. ad ann. 1570. He rode immediately to Hamilton, where he was "received with great applause." Ibid.

spirit, that *nothing would make him repent an act of clemency.\**

The consternation which is usually produced by the fall of a distinguished leader, was absorbed in the deep distress which the tidings of the regent's murder spread through the nation. The common people, who had experienced the beneficial effects of his short administration, to a degree altogether unprecedented in the country, felt as if each had lost a father, and loudly demanded vengeance against the authors of the parricide. Many who had envied or hated him during his life were now forward to do justice to his virtues. Those who had not been able to conceal their satisfaction on the first intelligence of his death, became ashamed of the indecent exultation which they had imprudently expressed. The Hamiltons were anxious to clear themselves from the imputation of a crime which they saw to be universally detested. The murderer was dismissed by them, and was glad to conceal his ignominy, by condemning himself to perpetual banishment. The only one of his crimes for which the archbishop of St Andrews afterwards expressed contrition, before his execution, was his accession to the murder of the regent.† Nor were these feelings confined to Scotland; the sensation was general through England, and the expressions of grief

\* Buch. Cald. Spottis.

† *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, p. 117. "To the third head" (his participation in the murder of the late regent) the archbishop "answerit thus: That he not only knew thair of, and wald not stopp it, bot rather furtherit the deed thair of, quhilk he repentit, and askit God mercie for the same." Yet an author, in the *nineteenth* century, can write of this deed in the following terms: "The heiress of Woodhouselie fell a sacrifice to the corrupt tyranny of the regent Murray. Her husband, Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, put the guilty tyrant to death, as base-born Murray rode through old Liddilghow's crowded town." Chalmers's



and condolence from that country evinced the uncommon esteem in which he was held by all ranks.

It was the happiness of the regent, that, in his early years, he fell into the company of men, who cultivated his vigorous understanding, gave a proper direction to his activity, and instilled into his mind the principles of religion and virtue. His early adoption of the reformed sentiments, the steadiness with which he adhered to them, the uniform correctness of his morals, his integrity, sagacity, and enterprizing but cool courage, soon placed him in the first rank among those who embarked in the struggle for the reformation of religion, and maintenance of national liberties, and secured to him their cordial and unbounded confidence. The honours which queen Mary conferred on him were not too great for the services which he rendered to her; and had she continued to trust him with the direction of her counsels, those measures would have been avoided which precipitated her ruin. He was repeatedly placed in a situation which would have tempted the ambition of others, less qualified, to aspire to the supreme authority; yet he shewed no disposition to grasp at this. When he accepted the regency, it was in compliance with the decided and uncorrupted voice of the acting majority in the nation, pointing him out as the fittest person for occupying that high station. His conduct, in one of the most delicate and embarrassing situations in which a governor was ever placed, shewed that his countrymen were not mistaken in their choice. He united, in no ordinary degree, those qua-

Caledonia, ii. 571. Did I not respect the erudition of this writer, and pity his prejudice, (which, upon ecclesiastical and political subjects, is worthy of the darkest age into which he has carried his researches,) there are few expressions which I would reckon too strong to be employed in reprobating the spirit which is breathed in this passage.

lities which are rarely combined in the same individual, and which make up the character of an accomplished prince. Excelling equally in the arts of war and peace, he reduced the country to universal obedience to the king's authority by his military skill and valour, and preserved it in a state of tranquillity and order by the wise and impartial administration of justice. Successful in all his warlike enterprizes, he never once tarnished the laurels of victory, by cruelty or unnecessary rigour to the vanquished. He knew how to maintain the authority of the laws, and bridle the licentious, by salutary severity, and at the same time to temper the rigour of justice by the interposition of mercy. He used to sit personally in the courts of judicature, and exerted himself to obtain for all the subjects an easy and expeditious decision of litigated causes. His uncommon liberality to his friends, to the learned, and to his servants; and his unostentatious charity to the poor, have been celebrated by one who had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with them.\* Nor has the breath of calumny, which has laboured in many ways to blast his reputation, ever insinuated that he oppressed or burdened the public, during his regency, in order to enrich himself or his family. Add to all his exemplary piety, the only source of genuine virtue. His family was so regulated as to resemble a church rather than a court. Not a profane nor lewd word was to be heard from any of his domestics. Besides the ordinary exercise of devotion, a chapter of the bible was always read at dinner and supper; and it was his custom, on such occasions, to require his chaplain, or some other learned men (of whom he had always a number about him) to give their opinion upon the passage, for his own in-

\* Buchanan, oper. p. 385. Rud.

struction and that of his family. "A man truly good (says archbishop Spottiswood,) and worthy to be ranked amongst the best governors that this kingdom hath enjoyed, and, therefore, to this day honoured with the title of *The Good Regent*."\*

This may be deemed, by some readers, an improper digression from the subject of this work. But even though it had been still less connected with it than it is, though there had not subsisted that intimate familiarity and co-operation between the Regent and the Reformer, I could scarcely have denied myself the satisfaction of paying a small tribute to the memory of one of the greatest men of his age, who has been traduced and vilified in a most unjustifiable and wanton manner, in modern times, and whose character has been drawn with unfavourable, and, in my opinion, with unfair colours, by the most moderate of our historians. All that I have attempted is to sketch the most prominent features of his character. That he was faultless, I am far from wishing to insinuate; but the principal charges which have been brought against him, I consider as either irrelevant, or unproved, or greatly exaggerated. That his exaltation to the highest dignity in the state which a subject could enjoy, produced no unfavourable change on his behaviour, is what none can be prepared to affirm; but I have not seen the contrary established. The confidence which he reposed in his friends was great, and he was inclined to be biassed by their advice; but that he became the dupe of worthless favourites, and fell by listening to their flattery, and refusing to harken to wholesome advice, and not by the treachery of his friends, and the malice of his implacable enemies, are assertions which have been repeated upon the

\* History, 234.



authority of a single witness, are unsupported by facts, and capable of being disproved.\*

The regent died on the evening of Saturday; and the intelligence of his murder was conveyed early next morning to Edinburgh. It is impossible to describe the anguish which the Reformer felt on this occasion. A cordial and intimate friendship had long subsisted between them. Of all the Scottish nobility, he placed the greatest confidence in Murray's attachment to religion; and his conduct after his elevation to the regency had served to heighten the good opinion which he formerly entertained of him. He looked upon his death as the greatest calamity which could befall the nation, and the forerunner of other evils.† When the shock produced by the melancholy tidings had subsided, the first thought that rushed into his mind was, that he had himself been the instrument of obtaining, from his clemency, a pardon to the man who had become his murderer: a thought which naturally produced a very different impression on him from what it did on the dying regent.‡

In his sermon that day, he introduced the subject; and after saying, that God in his great mercy raised up godly rulers, and took them away in his displeasure on account of the sins of a nation, he thus poured out the sorrows of his heart in an address to God. "O Lord, in what misery and confusion found he this realm! To what rest and quietness now by his labours suddenly he brought the

\* See Note XX.

† Smetoni Responsio ad Hamiltonii Dialogum, p. 116.

‡ "Upon the 22 of Maii, the sherife of Linlithgow, the laird of Innerweek, *James Hamilton of Bothelhaugh*, and six others, were put to an assyse; their hands bound; and pardoned, at the request of Mr. Knox, whereof he sore repented; for Bothwelhaugh killed the regent shortlie after." Cald. MS. ad anno 1568.

same, all estates, but especially the poor commons, can witness. Thy image, O Lord, did so clearly shine in that personage, that the devil, and the wicked to whom he is prince, could not abide it; and so to punish our sins and our ingratitude (who did not rightly esteem so precious a gift,) thou hast permitted him to fall, to our great grief, in the hands of cruel and traitorous murderers. He is at rest, O Lord; we are left in extreme misery.”\*

Only a few days before this, when the murder was fully concerted, the abbot of Kilwinning applied to Knox to intercede with the regent in behalf of his kinsmen, who were confined for practising against the government. He signified his readiness to do all in his power for the relief of any of that family who were willing to own the authority of the King and regent; but he intreated him not to abuse him, by employing his services, if any mischief were intended against the regent; for “I protest (said he) before God, who is the only witness now betwixt us, that if there be any thing attempted, by any of that surname, against the person of that man, in that case, I discharge myself to you and them for ever.” After the assassination, the abbot sent to desire another interview; but Knox refused to see him, and desired the messenger to say to him, “I have not now the regent to make suit unto for the Hamiltons.”†

\* Cald. MS. ii. 150. He is said to have added this to his usual prayers after dinner and supper. But in a volume of Calderwood's History, in the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh (which has been transcribed more early than any copy which I have seen,) these words are scored out; and, it is introduced as the prayer which he offered up in public, the day on which he was informed of the regent's death. There are a number of other interlined and marginal alterations in that manuscript, by which it differs from the other copies.

† Cald. MS. ad ann. 1570.

At this time there was handed about a fabricated account of a pretended conference held by the late Regent with Lord Lindsay, Wishart of Pittarrow, the tutor of Pitcur, James Macgill, and Knox ; in which they were represented as advising him to set aside the young king, and place the crown on his own head. The modes of expression peculiar to each of the persons were carefully imitated in the speeches put into their mouths, to give it the greater air of credibility. The design of it evidently was to lessen the odium of the murder, and the veneration of the people for the memory of Murray ; but it was universally regarded as an impudent and gross forgery. Its fabricator was Thomas Maitland, a young man of talents, but corrupted by his brother the secretary, who before this had engaged himself to the queen's party, and was suspected of having a deep hand in the plot for cutting off the regent.\*

On the day on which *the weekly conference* was held in Edinburgh, the same person slipped into the pulpit a schedule, containing words to this effect. "Take up now the man whom you accounted another God, and consider the end to which his ambition hath brought him." Knox, whose turn<sup>o</sup> it was to preach that day, took up the paper on entering the pulpit, supposing it to be a note requesting the prayers of the congregation for a sick person, and, having read it, laid it aside without any apparent emotion. But towards the conclusion of his sermon, having deplored the loss which the church and commonwealth had recently sustained, and declared the account of the conference, which had been circulated, to be false and calumnious, he said that there were persons who rejoiced at the treasonable murder, and scrupled not to make it the subject of their merriment ; particularly there was one present

\* Cald. MS. ii. 151—157.



who had thrown in a writing insulting over an event which was the cause of grief to all good men. "That wicked man, whosoever he be, shall not go unpunished, and shall die where there shall be none to lament him." Maitland, when he went home, said to his sister, that the preacher was raving, when he spake in such a manner of a person who was unknown to him; but she, understanding that her brother had written the line, reproved him, saying with tears, that none of that man's denunciations were wont to prove idle. Spottiswood (who had his information personally from the mouth of that lady) says, that Maitland died in Italy, "having no known person to attend him."\*

Upon Tuesday the 14th of February, the regent's corpse was brought from the palace of Holyroodhouse, and intered in the south aisle of the collegiate church of St. Giles. Before the funeral, Knox preached a sermon on these words, *Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord*. Three thousand persons were dissolved in tears before him, while he described the regent's virtues, and bewailed his loss.† Buchanan paid his tribute to the memory of the deceased, by writing the inscription placed on his monument, with that expressive simplicity and brevity which are dictated by genuine grief.‡ A conven-

\* Spottiswood, p. 234. Mackenzie labours to overthrow the archbishop's narrative of this affair. *Lives of Scottish Writers*, iii. 195, 196. But whatever opinion we may form about the prediction, it cannot be doubted that Spottiswood had the best information to proceed upon as to the facts which he relates. Nor has Mackenzie any other authority for what he says about the death of Maitland, but the archbishop's, who must have been satisfied that what he says in the account of Smeaton was not inconsistent with what he had written as to Knox's denunciation.

† Cald. MS. ii. 157.

‡ The inscription, engraved on brass, is yet to be seen; a copy of which shall be inserted in note YY. But Buchanan has, in his

tion of the nobility was held after the funeral, at which it was resolved to avenge his death; but different opinions were entertained as to the mode of doing this, and the commons complained loudly of the remissness with which it was carried into execution. The General Assembly, at their first meeting, testified their detestation of the crime, by ordering the assassin to be publicly excommunicated in all the chief towns of the kingdom, and appointing the same process to be used against all who should afterwards be convicted of accession to the conspiracy.\*

During the sitting of the convention, Knox received a number of letters from his acquaintances in England, expressive of their high regard for the character of the regent, and their sorrow at so grievous a loss.† One of his correspondents, Dr. Lau-

History, reared to him "a monument more durable than brass," which will preserve his memory as long as the language in which it is written shall continue to be understood, and as long as a picture taken from life shall be preferred to the distorted representations of a jaundiced imagination. Nor has he neglected to celebrate the regent in his verses. Epigram. lib. ii. 29. iii. 7, 9, 18.

\* Spottiswood, 235.

† Among others, he received letters from Christopher Goodman, and John Willock. Cald. ut supra. It appears from this, that Willock had before this time returned to England, after he was recalled from it by the General Assembly, in 1568. I find no mention of that reformer, after this period, by any of the writers of that age. A late author has very wantonly attempted to load the memory of this excellent man with a capital crime. He gives the following extract from the paper office, 22d April, 1590, "Twa men, the ane namyt Johnne Gibsone, Scottishman, preacher, and the other Johune Willokis, now baith lying in prison at Leicester, were convicted by a jury of robbery." The last of these convicts, says he, was "the reforming co-adjutor of Knox." Chalmers's *Life of Ruddiman*, p. 307. What evidence has this author for saying so? Nothing but the sameness of the name! Just as if a person, on reading in the public papers of one *George Chalmers* who was convicted of a robbery, (no unlikely thing) should immedi-

rence Humphrey,\* urged him to write a memoir of the deceased. Had he done this, he would no doubt, from his intimate acquaintance with him, have communicated a number of particulars of which we must now be content to remain ignorant. But though he had been disposed to undertake this task, the state of his health must have prevented its execution.

The grief which he indulged, in consequence of this mournful event, and the confusions which followed it, preyed upon his spirits, and injured his health.† In the month of October, he had a stroke of apoplexy, which affected his speech to a considerable degree. Upon this occasion, his enemies exulted, and circulated the most exaggerated tales. The report ran through England as well as Scotland, that John Knox would never preach nor speak more; that his face was turned into his neck; that he was become the most deformed creature ever seen; that he was actually dead.‡ A most un-

ately take it into his head that this was, and could be, no other than the author of the *Life of Ruddiman*, and *Caledonia*! It is evident that the second convict was no preacher, else this designation would have been added to his name, as well as to that of the first. It is probable that Willock, who was a preacher as early as 1540, was not alive in 1590: it is utterly incredible that he should then have been in a condition to act as a robber.—But it is paying too much regard to such a charge, to bring exculpatory proof.

\* In the copy of *Cald. MS.* belonging to the church of Scotland the name is written *Winfrid*; but in the copy of the *Advocates' Library*, it is *Umfrede*. The person meant is evidently Dr. Laurence Humphrey (*Umfredius*), professor of divinity, and Head of one of the colleges in the university of Oxford. This learned man was a puritan, but enjoyed the patronage of secretary Cecil. *Strype's Annals*, i. 421, 430—432.

† *Smetoni Respons. ad Hamilt.* p. 116.

‡ *Bannatyne's Journal*, p. 54. *Cald. MS.* ii. 206. Bannatyne says “the disorder was a kynd of apoplexia, called by the phisitiones resolutione;” probably a more gentle stroke of the disorder, attended with the relaxation of the system.



equivocal expression of the high consideration in which he was held, which our Reformer received in common with some other great men of his age.\*

\* In 1556, Calvin was suddenly seized in the pulpit with a fever, which confined him to his bed for a considerable time, and from which it was not thought he would recover. On that occasion the popish clergy of Noyon (his native city) met, and, rather prematurely, gave public thanks to God for his death. Melch. Adam, Vit. Exter. Theol. p. 93.—“Plusieurs grands hommes (says Senebier) ont partagé cet honneur avec Calvin, et ont eu, comme lui, la satisfaction de connoître la profonde estime qu'on avoit conçue pour eux.” *Historie Littéraire de Geneve*, tom. i. 228.

## PERIOD VIII.

FROM HIS BEING STRUCK WITH APOPLEXY, ANNO 1570,  
TO HIS DEATH, ANNO 1572.

THOSE who flattered themselves that the Reformer's disorder was mortal were disappointed; for he convalesced, recovered the use of his speech, and was able, in the course of a few days, to resume preaching, at least on Sabbath days.\* He never recovered, however, from the debility which was produced by the stroke.

The confusions which he had augured from the death of the good regent soon broke out, and again spread the flames of civil discord through the nation. The Hamiltons openly raised the queen's standard. Kircaldy of Grange, governor of the castle of Edinburgh, who had been corrupted by Maitland, after concealing his defection for a time under the flag of neutrality, declared himself on the same side, and became the principal agent in attempting to overturn the government which he had been so zealous in erecting. The defection of Grange was a source of great injury to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and of distress to Knox. He had a warm affection for the governor, on account of the important services which he had rendered to the Reformation; and he continued always to think that he was at bottom a sincere friend to religion. Under this conviction, he spared no pains in endeavouring to pre-

\* Bannatyne's Journal, p. 55.

vent him from renouncing his fidelity to the king, and afterwards to reclaim him from his apostacy. But in both he was unsuccessful.

In the end of the year 1570, he was personally involved in a disagreeable quarrel with Grange. A servant of the latter having been imprisoned on a charge of murder, he sent a company of soldiers from the castle, who forced the prison, and carried off the criminal. Knox, in his sermon on the following Sabbath, condemned this riot, and violation of the house of justice. Had it been done by the authority of a blood-thirsty man, and one who had no fear of God, he would not, he said, have been so much moved at it; but he was affected to think that one of whom all good men had formed so great expectations, should have fallen so far as to act such a part; one who, when formerly in prison, had refused to purchase his own liberty by the shedding of blood. An exaggerated report of this censure being conveyed to the castle, the governor, in great rage, made his complaint, first to Knox's colleague, and afterwards formally to the kirk-session, that he had been traduced as a murderer, and required that his character should be vindicated as publicly as it had been calumniated. Knox explained and vindicated what he had said. On a subsequent Sabbath, Grange, who had been absent from the church nearly a whole year, came down to it, accompanied with a number of the persons who had been active in the murder and riot. Knox, looking upon this as an attempt to out-brave the scandal which his conduct had given, took occasion to discourse particularly of the sin of forgetting benefits received from God, and warned his hearers against confiding in the divine mercy while they were knowingly transgressing any of the commandments, or proudly defending their transgression.

Grange was much incensed at these warnings,



which he considered as levelled at him, and, in speaking of the preacher, made use of very threatening language. The report having spread that the governor of the castle was become a sworn enemy to Knox, and intended to kill him, several of the noblemen and gentlemen of Kyle and Cunningham sent a letter to Grange, in which, after mentioning his former appearances for religion, and the reports which had reached their ears, they warned him against doing any thing to the prejudice of the man whom "God had made the first planter and chief waterer of his church among them," and protested that "his death and life were as dear to them as their own deaths and lives."\*

Knox was not to be deterred, by threatenings, from doing what he considered to be his duty. He persisted in warning his hearers to avoid all participation with those, who, by supporting the pretensions of the queen, prevented the punishment of notorious crimes, and sought the overthrow of the king's authority, and the reformed religion. When the General Assembly met in March 1571, anonymous libels were thrown into the assembly-house, and placards fixed on the church-door, accusing him of seditious railing against their sovereign the queen, refusing to pray for her welfare and conversion, representing her as a reprobate, whose repentance was hopeless, and uttering imprecations against her. The assembly having, by public intimation required the accusers to come forward and substantiate their charges, another anonymous bill appeared, promising that the writer would do so against next assembly, if the accused continued his offensive speeches, and was "then law-byding, and not fugitive according to his accustomed manner."

\* Bannatyne's Journal, p. 67—87.

Several of his friends dealt with him to pass over these anonymous libels in silence, but he refused to comply with this advice, considering that the credit of his ministry was implicated. Accordingly, he produced them in the pulpit, and returned a particular answer to the accusations which they contained. That he had charged the late queen with the crimes of which she had notoriously been guilty, he granted, but that he had railed against her, they would not, he said, be able to prove, without proving Isaiah, Jeremiah, and other inspired writers, to be railers. "He had learned plainly and boldly to call wickedness by its own terms, a fig, a fig, and a spade, a spade." He had never called her reprobate, nor said that her repentance was impossible; but he had affirmed that pride and repentance could not remain long together in one heart. He had prayed that God for the comfort of his church, would oppose his power to her pride, and confound her, and her assistants, in their impiety: this prayer, let them call it imprecation or execration, as they pleased, had stricken, and would yet strike, whoever supported her. To the charge of not praying for her, he answered, "I am not bound to pray for her in this place, for sovereign to me she is not! and I let them understand that I am not a man of law that has my tongue to sell for silver, or favour of the world."\* What title she now had, or even had to the government, he would not dispute: the estates

\* Crawford, in his *Memoirs of Scotland*, (p. 186. Edin. Anno 1706,) among other things disgraceful to the Reformers, says that they openly avowed, on this occasion, "That to pray for, or forgive our real or reputed enemies, was no part of a Christian's duty." It is sufficient to say, that there is not one word of this in the "authentick MS." from which he professes that his memoirs were "faithfully publish'd." See *Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, p. 113, 114. The public are under great obligations to Mr. Malcolm Laing, for exposing this literary for-

had deprived her of it, and it belonged to them to answer for this : as for him, he had hitherto lived in obedience in all lawful authority within this kingdom. To the insinuation that he might not be “law-byding” against next assembly, he replied, that his life was in the custody of Him who had preserved him to that age at which he was not apt to flee, nor could any yet accuse him of leaving the people of his charge, except at their own command.

After these defences, his enemies fled, as their *dernier-resort*, to an attack upon his Blast of the Trumpet, and accused him of inconsistency in writing against female government, and yet praying for queen Elizabeth, and seeking her aid against his native country. This accusation he also met in the pulpit, and refuted with great spirit. After vindicating his consistency, he concludes in the following manner: “One thing, in the end, I may not pretermit, that is, to *give him a lie in his throat*, that either dare, or will say, that ever I sought support against my native country. What I have been to my country, albeit this unthankful age will not know, yet the ages to come will be compelled to bear witness to the truth. And thus I cease, requiring of all men that has to oppose any thing against me, that he will do it so plainly as I make myself and all my doings manifest to the world; for to me it seems a thing most unreasonable, that in my decrepid age, I shall be compelled to fight against *shadows and houlets*, that dare not abide the light.”\*

The conduct of our Reformer at this time affords a striking display of the unextinguishable ardour of his mind. He was so debilitated in body, that he ne-

gery, which has continued so long to impose upon our most acute and industrious historians.

\* The accusation and defences may be seen at full length in his secretary, Bannatyne's Journal, p. 99, 120.



ver went abroad except on Sabbath days, to preach in the forenoon.\* He had given up with attendance upon church courts. He had, previous to the breaking out of the last disturbances, weaned his heart from public affairs. But whenever he saw the welfare of the church and commonwealth threatened, he forgot his resolutions and his infirmities, and entered into the cause with all the keenness of his more vigorous days. Whether the public proceedings of the nation, or his own conduct, were arraigned and condemned, whether the attacks upon them were open or clandestine, he stood prepared to repel them, and convinced the adversaries, that they could not accomplish their designs without opposition, as long as he was able to move a tongue.†

His situation in Edinburgh became very critical in April 1571, when Grange received the Hamiltons, with their forces, into the castle. Their inveteracy against him was so great, that his friends were obliged to watch his house during the night. They wished to form a guard for his protection when he went

\* Bannatyne, p. 77.

† The lively interest which he continued to take in public affairs is apparent from the letters of his correspondence. Captain Crawford of Jordanhill sent him, at his desire, a minute account of the taking of Dumbarton castle, in 1571, with an inventory of the arms, ammunition, and provisions found in it. Bannatyne, 123. There are two letters to him from Alexander Hay, clerk of the privy council, informing him of the most important transactions in England, and on the continent. Ibid. 294—302. From these letters, (Dec. 1. and 14. 1571,) it also appears, that he was then engaged in continuing his History, and had applied to Hay for materials. From the public papers, mentioned in one of the letters, it would seem that he had advanced, in writing, to the period between 1567 and 1570, of which nothing now remains. Ibid. 298, 299. The following clause in a prayer composed by him about this time, upon finding himself unable to finish the history, shews the important light in which he viewed that work. "Rease thou up the spreitis of some to observe thy notable workis, faithfullie to comit the same to writ, that the prosperities

abroad ; but the governor of the castle forbade this, as implying a suspicion of him, and offered to send Melvill, one of his officers, to conduct him to and from church. “ He wold gif the woulf the wedder to keip,” says Bannatyne. The Duke and his friends refused to pledge their word for his safety, because “there were many rascals among them who loved him not.” Intimations were often given him of threatenings against his life ; and one evening, as he sat in his house, a musket ball was fired in at the window, and lodged in the roof of the room. It happened that he sat at the time in a different part of the room from his usual, otherwise the ball, from the direction which it took, must have struck him.\* Upon this a number of the inhabitants, along with his colleague, repaired to him, and renewed a request which they had formerly made, that he would remove from Edinburgh, to a place where his life would be in greater safety, until such time as the queen’s party should evacuate the town. But he refused to yield to them, apprehending that his enemies wished to intimidate him into flight, that they might carry on their designs more quietly, and then accuse him of cowardice. Being unable to persuade him by any other means, they at last had recourse to an argument which prevailed. They told him that they were determined to defend him, if attacked, at the peril of their lives, and if blood was shed in the quarrel, which was highly probable, they would leave it on his head. Upon this, he consented, “sore against his will,” to leave that city.†

On the 5th of May he left Edinburgh, and cross-

[posterities] to come may praise thy holie name, for the greatt graces plentifulle powred foorth upon this unthankfull generatione. Johne Knox trusting end of travell.” Ibid. 129.

\* Cald. MS. ad ann. 1572. Life prefixed to History, anno 1644.

† Bannatyne, 139—146.

ing the Frith at Leith, travelled by short stages to St. Andrews, which he had shosen as the place of his retreat.\* Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, occupied his pulpit. He preached and prayed in a manner more acceptable to the queen's party than his predecessor,† but little to the satisfaction of the people, who despised him on account of his weakness, and disliked him for supplanting their favourite pastor. The church of Edinburgh was for a time dissolved. A great number of its most respectable members either were driven from the city, or left it through dissatisfaction. The celebration of the Lord's Supper was suspended. During a whole week "there was neither preaching nor prayer, neither was there any sound of bell heard in all the town, except the ringing of the cannon."‡

Amidst the extreme hostility by which both parties were inflamed, and which produced several disgraceful acts of mutual retaliation, many proofs were exhibited of the personal antipathy which the queen's adherents bore to the Reformer. An inhabitant of Leith was assaulted, and his body mutilated, because he was of the same name with him. A servant of John Craig being met one day by a reconnoitring party, and asked who was his master, answered in his trepidation, Mr. Knox, upon which he was seized; and, although he immediately cor-

\* Bannatyne, 144, 146. *Historie of King James the Sext*, p. 123.

† The principles upon which the bishop vindicated the authority of the queen, and the duty of praying for her in the pulpit, shew the strong and universal opinion of her guilt at that time. He did not venture to insinuate her innocence, although the town was at that time full of armed men, enlisted under her banners. Bannatyne, 181, 182.

‡ Bannatyne, 144, 169, 170. *Hist. of King James the Sext*, 123, 124. Knox's Epistle to his brethren of the Church of Edinburgh, now dispersed. *Streveling*, 1571.



rected his mistake, they desired him to "hold at his first master," and haled him to prison. Having fortified St. Giles's steeple, to overawe the town, the soldiers baptized one of the cannons by the name of *Knox*, which they were so fond of firing, that it burst, killed two of the party, and wounded others.\* They circulated the most ridiculous tales respecting his conduct at St. Andrews. John Law, the letter-carrier of St. Andrews, being in the castle of Edinburgh, "the ladie Home and utheris wald neidis thraip in his face, that" John Knox "was banist the said toune, because that in the yarde he had resist *sum sanctis*, amongis whome thair came up *the devill with hornis*, which when his servant Richart sawe, [he] ran woode, and so died."†

Although he was free from personal danger, Knox did not find St. Andrews that peaceful retreat which he had expected. The Kircaldies and Balfours were a considerable party in that quarter, and the Hamiltons had their friends both in the university and among the ministry. These were thorns in the Reformer's side, and made his situation uneasy, as long as he resided among them. Having left Edinburgh, because he could not be permitted to discharge his conscience, in testifying against the designs of persons whom he regarded as conspirators against the legal government of the country, and the security of the reformed religion, it was not to be expected that he would preserve silence on this subject at St. Andrews. In the discourses which he preached on the eleventh chapter of Daniel's prophecy, he frequently took occasion to advert to the transactions of his own time, and to inveigh against the murder of the late king, and the regent. This was very grat-

\* Bannatyne, 154, 240. 322.

† Ibid. 309, 310. "Gif this had bene their first inventit lie (says the same Richart) I wald never have blekit paper for it."

ing to the ears of the opposite faction, particularly to Robert, and Archibald Hamilton, the former a minister of the city, and the latter a professor in one of the colleges. Displeased with the censures of his relations, and aware of his popularity in the pulpit, Robert Hamilton circulated in private, that it did not become Knox to exclaim so loudly against murderers, for he had seen his subscription, along with that of the earl of Murray, to a bond for assassinating Darnly. But when the Reformer applied to him, Hamilton denied that he had ever spoken such words.

Archibald Hamilton being complained of for withdrawing from Knox's sermons, and accusing him of intolerable railing, endeavoured to bring the matter under the cognition of the masters of the university, among whom his influence was great.\* Knox did not scruple to give an account of his conduct before the professors, for their satisfaction; but he judged it necessary to enter a protestation, that his appearance should not prejudice the liberty of the pulpit, nor the authority of the regular church-courts, to whom, and not to any university, the judgment of religious doctrine belonged.† This incident ac-

\* Archibald Hamilton a short time after this left Scotland, and going to France, made a recantation of the protestant religion. As an evidence of the sincerity of his conversion, he published the dialogue *De Confusione Calvinianæ Sectæ apud Scotos*; a book which I have frequently referred to, and which strikingly exemplifies the adage, *Omnis apostata osor acerrimus sui ordinis*. In the copious abuse of Knox with which it abounds, we are reminded of the present quarrel. Thomas Smeton, principal of the university of Glasgow, (who had lately left the Roman Catholic communion) published an elegant and masterly reply to it, which exhibits, among other things, the great contrast between a man who has exchanged a corrupt system of religion for the sake of a more pure, and one who has taken the opposite course.

† Hamiltonii Dialog. p. 61. Smetonii Respons. ad Hamilt. Dialog. p. 90, 91. Baunatyne, 383—385.

counts for the zeal with which he expresses himself on this subject, in his letter to the General Assembly which met in August 1572; in which he exhorts them, above all things, to preserve the church from the bondage of the universities, and not to exempt them from ecclesiastical jurisdiction.\*

Another source of distress to the Reformer, at this time, was a scheme which the courtiers had formed for altering the policy of the church, and securing to themselves the principal part of the ecclesiastical revenues. This plan seems to have been concerted under the regency of Lennox; it began to be put into execution during that of Mar, and was afterwards completed by Morton. We have already had occasion to notice the aversion of many of the nobility to the book of discipline, and the principal source from which this aversion sprung. While the earl of Murray administered the government, he prevented any new encroachments upon the rights of the church; but the succeeding regents were either less friendly to them, or less able to bridle the avarice of the more powerful nobles. Several of the richest benefices becoming vacant by the decease, or by the sequestration of the popish incumbents, who had been permitted to retain them, it was necessary to determine in what manner they should be disposed of for the future. The church had uniformly required that their revenues should be divided, and applied to the support of the religious and literary establishments; but with this demand the courtiers were by no means disposed to comply. At the same time, the total secularization of them was deemed too bold a step; nor could laymen, with any shadow of consistency, or by a valid title, hold benefices which the law declared to be ecclesiastical.

\* Baynathyne, 364.



The expedient resolved on was, that the bishoprics and other livings should be presented to certain ministers, who, previous to their admission, should make over the principal part of their revenues to such noblemen as had obtained the patronage of them from the court.

Accordingly, in a convention of certain ministers and courtiers, held at Leith in January 1572, it was agreed that the name and office of archbishop, bishop, &c. should be continued during the king's minority, and that qualified persons from among the ministers should be advanced to these dignities. No greater power, however, was allotted to them than to superintendents, with whom they were equally subject to the assemblies of the church.\* Such was the origin and nature of that species of episcopacy which was introduced into the reformed church of Scotland, in the minority of James VI. It does not appear to have proceeded in any degree from predilection to hierarchical government, but from the desire which the courtiers had to secure to themselves the revenues of the church. This was emphatically expressed by the name of *tulchan bishops*,† which was commonly applied to those who were at this time admitted to the office.

Encroachments were, however, made upon the jurisdiction of the church in different ways, particularly by the presentation of unqualified persons, who were sometimes continued in the enjoyment of livings, without the admission of the church; by the granting of pluralities and even by civil courts assuming the cognizance of causes of an ecclesiastical

\* Calderwood, De reg. eccl. Scotie. relatio, p. 8. anno 1618. and epist. Philad. Vind. apud Altare Damase. p. 727, 729. Lugd. Batav. 1708. Petrie, part ii. p. 372, 374.

† A *Tulchan* is a calf's skin stuffed with straw, set up to make the cow give her milk freely.

nature. Of all of these we find the ministers complaining about this time.\*

It has been insinuated, that Knox approved of the resolutions of the convention at Leith to restore the episcopal office; and the articles sent by him to the General Assembly, August 1572, have been appealed to as a proof of this.† But all that can be deduced from these articles is, that he desired the conditions and limitations agreed upon by that convention to be strictly observed, in the election of bishops, in opposition to the granting of bishoprics to laymen (of which one glaring instance had just taken place,) and also to the simoniacal pactions which the ministers made with the nobles on receiving presentations. Provided one of the propositions made by him to the assembly had been enforced, and the bishops had been bound to give an account of the whole of their rents, and either to support ministers in the particular places from which they derived these, or else to pay into the funds of the church the sums requisite for this purpose, it is evident that the mercenary views both of the patrons and presentees would have been defeated, and the church would have gained her object, the use of the episcopal revenues. It was the prospect of this that induced some honest ministers to agree to the proposed regulations, at the convention held in Leith. But it required a greater portion of disinterested firmness than falls to the most of men to act upon this principle,‡ and the nobles were able

\* See Note ZZ.

† Robertson's History of Scotland, ii. 358, 359. Lond. 1809.

‡ I have read somewhere (though I cannot at present find my authority) that Mr. Robert Pont, when offered a bishopric, took the advice of the General Assembly as to accepting it, and profes-

to find even at this period, a sufficient number of pliant, needy, or covetous ministers, to be the partners or the dupes of their avarice.

There is no reason, however, to think that our Reformer departed, on this occasion, from his principles, which, as we have already seen, were hostile to episcopacy. At this very time he received a letter from his friend Beza, expressing his satisfaction that they had banished the order of bishops from the Scottish church, and admonishing him and his colleagues to beware of suffering it to re-enter under the deceitful pretext of preserving unity.\* In the General Assembly, which met at St. Andrews in March 1572, the "making of bishops" was introduced, and he "opponit himself directlie" unto it.†

He had an opportunity of declaring his mind more publicly on this head. The earl of Morton, who had obtained from the crown a gift of the archbishopric of St. Andrews, bargained for it with John Douglas, rector of the university, and provost of the new college, "a good upright-hearted man, but ambitious and simple,"‡ and now superannuated. Knox was offended with this appointment in every point of view. Having preached on the day appointed for the inauguration of the new archbishop, Morton desired him to preside in the service; but he positively refused, and pronounced an anathema against both the donor and

sed his readiness to apply its funds to the support of the ministry within the diocese.

\* In the same letter Beza commends Knox for establishing not merely the purity of doctrine in the Scottish church, but also discipline and good order, without which the former could not be preserved for any time. Bezae Epistol. Theol. ep. lxxix. p. 344, 355, edit. 1572.

† Mr. James Melville's Diary, p. 26. MS. Adv. Lib.

‡ Ibid. p. 27.



the receiver. The provost of St. Salvador having said that his conduct proceeded from disappointment, because the bishopric had not been conferred on himself, he, on the following Sabbath, repelled the invidious charge. He had refused, he said, a greater bishopric than that of St. Andrews, which he might have had by the favour of greater men than Douglas had his;\* what he had spoken was for the exoneration of his conscience, that the church of Scotland might not be subject to that order, especially after a very different one had been established in the book of discipline, had been subscribed by the nobility, and ratified by parliament. He lamented also that a burden should be laid upon one old man, which twenty men of the best gifts could not sustain.† At the meeting of the General Assembly, he entered a formal protest against this procedure. In a private letter written by him about this time to Wishart of Pittarrow, as well as in his public letter to the assembly which met at Stirling, in 1571, he expressed his strong disapprobation of the new plans for defrauding the church of her patrimony, and encroaching upon her free jurisdiction.‡

While he was engaged in these contests, his bodily strength was every day sensibly decaying. Yet he continued to preach, although unable to walk to

\* Meaning Edward VI. of England and his council. See above, p. 79.

† Bannatyne, 321, 324, 375. Cald. MS. ii. 269, 333, 340. Mr. James Melvill says, that he spake against the appointment of Douglas, "bot sparinglie, because he lovit the man," and rather in the language of regret than of censure. MS. Diary, p. 27.

‡ Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 52. Cald. MS. ii. 269, 270, 280, 281. Petrie, part ii. 370. Spottis. 258. Collier says, that in the letter to the assembly at Stirling, "there are some passages *not unbecoming* a person of integrity and courage," ii. 533. Those who are acquainted with the spirit of this historian will think this high praise from such a quarter.

the pulpit without assistance ; and, when warmed with his subject, he forgot his weakness, and electrified the audience with his eloquence. James Melville, afterwards minister of Anstruther, was then a student at the college, and one of his constant hearers. The account which he has given of his appearance is exceedingly striking; and as any translation would enfeeble it, I shall give it in his own words. "Of all the benefits I haid that year [1571,] was the coming of that maist notable profet and apostle of our nation, Mr Jhone Knox, to St. Andrews, who, be the faction of the queen occupeing the castell and town of Edinbrugh, was compellit to remove therefra, with a number of the best, and chusit to come to St. Andrews. I heard him teache there the prophecies of Daniel, that simmer, and the wintar following. I haid my pen and my litle buike, and tuk away sic things as I could comprehend. In the opening up of his text, he was moderat the space of an half houre ; but when he enterit to application, he made me so to *grew*,\* and tremble, I could not hald a pen to wryt.—He was very weik. I saw him, everie day of his doctrine, go *hulie, and fear*,† with a furring of marticks about his neck, a staffe in the an hand, and gud godlie Richart Ballanden, his servand, baldin up the uther *oxter*,‡ from the abbey to the parish kirk, and, be the said Richart, and another servant, lifted up to the pulpit, whar he behovit to lean, at his first entrie : bot, er he haid done with his sermone, he was sa active and vigorous, that he was lyk to *ding the pulpit in blads*,§ and flie out of it."¶

\* i. e. thrill.

† i. e. slowly and warily.

‡ i. e. arm-pit.

§ i. e. beat the pulpit in pieces.

¶ Melvill's Diary, p. 23, 28. This description may also be seen in the later editions of Dr. Robertson's History of Scotland. Some additional particulars respecting our Reformer, during his residence at St. Andrews, may be seen in Note AAA.

During his stay at St. Andrews, he published a vindication of the reformed religion, in answer to a letter written by a Scots Jesuit, called Tyrie. The argumentative part of the work was finished by him in 1568; but he sent it abroad at this time, with additions, as a farewell address to the world, and a dying testimony to the truth which he had so long taught and defended.\* Along with it he published one of the religious letters which he had formerly written to his mother-in-law, Mrs. Bowes; and, in an advertisement prefixed to this, he informs us that she had lately departed this life, and that he could not allow the opportunity to slip of acquainting the public, by means of this letter, with the principal cause of that intimate Christian friendship which had so long subsisted between them.

The ardent desire which he felt to be released, by death, from the troubles of the present life appears in all that he wrote about this time. "Wearie of the world," and "thristing to depart," are expressions frequently used by him. The dedication of the above work is thus inscribed: "John Knox, the servant of Jesus Christ, now wearie of the world, and daylie lūking for the resolution of this my earthly tabernakle, to the faithful that God of his mercie shall appoint to fight after me." In the conclusion of it he says, "Call for me, deir brethren, that God, in his mercy, will pleis to put end to my long and paneful battell. For now being unable to fight, as God sumtymes gave strenth, I thrist an end, befoir I be moir troublesum to the faithfull. And yet, Lord, let my desyre be moderat be thy holy spirit." In a prayer subjoined to the dedication are these

\* Keith says, speaking of this book, "Mr. Knox makes some good and solid observations, from which, in my opinion, the Jesuit (in his reply) has not handsomely extricated himself." History. Appen. p. 255.



words. "To thee, O Lord, I commend my spirit. For I thirst to be resolved from this body of sin, and am assured that I shall rise agane in glorie; howsoever it be that the wicked for a tyme sall trode me and others thy servandes under their feit. Be merciful, O Lord, unto the kirk within this realme; continew with it the light of thy evangell; augment the number of true preicheris. And let thy mercyfull providence luke upon my desolate bedfellow, the fruit of her bosome, and my two deir children, Nathanael and Eleazar. Now, Lord, put end to my miserie." The advertisement "to the Faithful Reader," dated from St. Andrews, 12th July, 1572, concludes in the following manner: "I hartly salute and take my good night of all the faithful in both realmes, earnestly desyring the assistance of their prayers, that without any notable slander to the evangel of Jesus Christ, I may end my battel. *For, as the worlde is wearie of me, so am I of it.*

The General Assembly being appointed to meet at Perth on the 6th August, he took his leave of them in a letter, along, with which he transmitted certain articles and questions which he recommended to their consideration. The Assembly returned him an answer, declaring their approbation of his propositions, and their earnest desires for his preservation and comfort.\* The last piece of public service which he performed at their request, was examining and approving a sermon which had been lately preached by David Ferguson, minister of Dunfermline. His subscription to this sermon, like every thing which proceeded from his mouth or pen, about this time, is uncommonly striking. "John Knox, with my *dead hand*, but *glaid heart*,

\* Bannatyne, 364—369. Cald. ii. 352, 353.

praising God, that of his mercy he levis such light to his kirk in this desolatioun."\*

From the rapid decline of our Reformer's health, in spring 1572, there was every appearance of his ending his days in St. Andrews; but it pleased God that he should be restored once more to his flock, and allowed to die peaceably in his own bed. In consequence of a cessation of arms agreed to, in the end of July, between the regent and the adherents of the queen, the city of Edinburgh was abandoned by the forces of the latter, and secured from the annoyance of the garrison in the castle. As soon as the banished citizens returned to their houses,† they sent a deputation to St. Andrews, with a letter to

\* "Ane sermon preehit before the regent and nobilitie upon a part of the third chapter of Malachi [verse 7—12.] in the Kirk of Leith, at the time of the Generall Assemblie, on Sunday the 13. of January. Anno Do. 1571. Be David Fergusone, minister of the evangell at Dunfermyne. Imprentit at Sanctandrois, be Robert Lekpreuik. Anno Do. MDLXXII." The dedication to the regent Mar is dated 20th August, 1572. Lekpreuik, the printer, removed from Edinburgh, at the same time, and for the same cause, with Knox, and set up his printing-press at St. Andrews. It was here that he printed a version of Calvin's Catechism, written "in Latin heroic verse," by Patrick Constant, who afterwards took the name of Adamson, and was archbishop of St. Andrews. On this occasion "first I saw that excellent art of printing," says Melvill, in his Diary, p. 27, 28.

† Previous to the cessation of arms, the banished citizens (who had taken up their residence chiefly in Leith) entered into a solemn league, by which they engaged "in the fear of God the Father, of his Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holie Spirit, tackand to witness his holie name," that they would, with their lives, lands, and goods, promote the gospel professed among them, maintain the authority of the king and regent, assist and concur with others against the enemies in the castle, defend one another if attacked, and submit any variances which might arise among themselves to brotherly arbitration, or to the judgment of the town council. Bannatyne, 361—364.

their minister, expressive of their earnest desire "that once again his voice might be heard among them," and intreating him immediately to come to Edinburgh, if his health would at all permit him.\* After reading the letter, and conversing with the commissioners, he agreed to return, but under the express condition, that he should not be urged to observe silence respecting the conduct of those who held the castle against the regent; "whose treasonable and tyrannical deeds (he said) he would cry out against, as long as he was able to speak." He, therefore, desired them to acquaint their constituents with this, lest they should afterwards repent of his austerity, and be apprehensive of ill-treatment on his account. This he repeated upon his return to Edinburgh, before he entered the pulpit. Both the commissioners and the rest of their brethren assured him, that they did not mean to put a bridle in his mouth; but wished him to discharge his duty as he had been accustomed to do.†

On the 17th of August, to the great joy of the queen's faction, whom he had overawed during his residence among them, the Reformer left St. Andrews, along with his family, and was accompanied on his journey by a number of his brethren and acquaintances. Being obliged by his weakness to travel slowly, it was the 23d of the month before he reached Leith, from which, after resting a day or two, he came to Edinburgh. The inhabitants enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing him again in his own pulpit, on the first Sabbath after he arrived; but his voice was now so enfeebled that he could not be heard by the half of the congregation. Nobody was more sensible of this than himself. He therefore re-

\* Bannatyne, 370—373. "Leath we are to diseas or hurt your persone ony wayis, and far leather to want you."

† Ibid, 372, 373.



requested his session to provide a smaller house in which he could be heard, if it were only by a hundred persons; for his voice, even in his best time, was not able to extend over the multitude which assembled in the large church, much less now when he was so debilitated. This was done accordingly.\*

During his absence, a coolness had taken place between his colleague and the parish, who found fault with him for temporizing during the time that the queen's faction retained possession of the city. In consequence of this, they had separated, and Craig was gone to another part of the country.† Knox, perceiving that he would not long be able to preach, and that he was already incapacitated for all other ministerial duties, was extremely solicitous to have one settled as his colleague, that the congregation might not be left "as sheep without a shepherd," when he was called away. The last General Assembly having granted to the church of Edinburgh liberty to choose any minister within the kingdom, those of Dundee and Perth excepted, they now unanimously fixed upon James Lawson, sub-principal of the college of Aberdeen. This choice was very agreeable to the Reformer, who, in a letter sent along with those of the superintendent and session, urged him to comply with the call without delay. Though this letter has already appeared in print,‡ yet as it is not long, and is very descriptive of his frame of mind at this interesting period, I shall lay it before the reader.

"All worldie strenth, yea ewin in things spirituall, decayes; and yit sall never the work of God decay. Belovit brother, seing that God of his mercie, far above my expectatione, has callit me ones agane to Edinburgh, and yit that I feill nature so

\* Bannatyne, p. 373, 385. Smetoni Respons, p. 117, 118.

† See Note BBB.

‡ Bannatyne, 386.

decayed, and daylie to decay, that I luke not for a long continewance of my battell, I wald gladlie anes discharge my conscience into your bosome, and into the bosome of vtheris, in whome I think the feare of God remanes. Gif I hath had the habilitie of bodie, I suld not have put you to the pane to the whilk I now requyre you, that is, anes to visit me, that we may conferre together of heawinlie things; for into earth there is no stabilite, except the kirk of Jesus Christ, ever fightand vnder the crosse, to whose myghtie protectione I hartlie comit yeu. Of Edinburgh the vii of Septepber, 1572. JHON KNOX."

In a postscript these expressive words were added, "Haste, brother, lest you come too late."

In the beginning of September, intelligence came to Edinburgh, that the Admiral of France, the brave, the generous, the pious Coligni was murdered in the city of Paris, by the orders of Charles IX. Immediately on the back of this, tidings arrived of that most detestable and unparalleled scene of barbarity and treachery, the general massacre of the protestants throughout that kingdom. Post after post brought fresh accounts of the most shocking and unheard-of cruelties. Hired cut-throats, and fanatical cannibals marched from city to city, paraded the streets, and entered into the houses of those that were marked out for destruction. No reverence was shewn to the hoary head, no respect to rank or talents, no pity to tender age or sex. Aged matrons, women upon the point of their delivery, and children, were trodden under the feet of the assassins, or dragged with hooks into the rivers; others, after being thrown into prison, were instantly brought out, and butchered in cold blood. Seventy thousand persons were murdered in one week. For several days the streets of Paris literally ran with blood. The savage monarch, standing at the windows of the

palace, with his courtiers, glutted his eyes with the inhuman spectacle, and amused himself with firing upon the miserable fugitives who sought shelter at his merciless gates.\*

The intelligence of this massacre (for which a solemn thanksgiving was offered up at Rome by order of the Pope†) produced the same horror and consternation in Scotland as in every other protestant country.‡ It inflicted a deep wound on the exhausted spirit of Knox. Besides the blow struck at the whole reformed body, he had to lament the loss of many individuals, eminent for piety, learning, and rank, whom he numbered among his acquaintances. Being conveyed to the pulpit, and summoning up the remainder of his strength, he thundered the vengeance of heaven against that cruel murderer and false traitor, the king of France, and desired Le Croc, the French ambassador, to tell his master, that sentence was pronounced against him in Scotland, that the divine vengeance would never depart from him, nor from his house, if repentance did not ensue; but his name would remain an execration to posterity, and none proceeding from his loins would enjoy that kingdom in peace. The ambassador complained of the indignity offered to his master, and requir-

\* *Memoires de Sully*, tom. i. 16. Paris 1664. Brantosme *Memoires*, apud Jurieu, *Apologie pour la Reformation*, tom. i. 420. Smetani *Respons. ad Hamilt. Dial.* p. 117.

† The Pope's Bull for the Jubilee may be seen in Strype's *Life of archbishop Parker*, Append. No. 68, p. 108.

‡ The regent Mar issued a proclamation on the occasion, summoning a general convention of deputies from all parts of the kingdom, to deliberate on the measures proper to be adopted for defence against the cruel and treasonable conspiracies of the papists. Bannatyne, 397—401. Strype has inserted the preamble, and one of the articles of a supplication presented by this convention to the regent and council. *Annals*, ii. 180, 181. This may be compared with the more full account of their proceedings, in Bannatyne, 406—411.



ed the regent to silence the preacher; but this was refused, upon which he left Scotland.\*

Lawson, having received the letters of invitation, hastened to Edinburgh, and had the satisfaction to find that Knox was still able to receive him. Having preached to the people, he gave universal satisfaction.† On the following Sabbath, 21st September, Knox began to preach in the Tolbooth church, which was now fitted up for him. He chose for the subject of his discourses, the account of our Saviour's crucifixion, as recorded in the xxvii. chapter of the gospel according to Matthew, a theme upon which he often expressed a wish to close his ministry. On Sabbath the 9th of November, he presided in the installation of Lawson as his colleague and successor. The sermon was preached by him in the Tolbooth church; after it was ended, he removed, with the audience, to the large church, where he went through the accustomed form of admission, by proposing the questions to the minister and people, addressing an exhortation to both, and praying for the divine blessing upon the connection. Upon no former occasion did he deliver himself more to the satisfaction of those who were able to hear him. After declaring the mutual duties of pastor and congregation, he protested, in the presence of Him before whom he expected soon to appear, that he had walked among them with a good conscience, preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ in all sincerity, not studying to please men, nor to gratify his own affections; he praised God, that he had been pleased to give them a pastor in his room, when he was now

\* Bannatyne, 401, 402.

† Mr. James Melville, speaking of Lawson, calls him "a man of singular learning, zeal, and eloquence, whom I never hard preache but he meltit my hart with tears." MS. Diary, p. 28.

unable to teach ; he fervently prayed, that any gifts which had been conferred on himself might be augmented a thousand fold in his successor ; and, in a most serious and impressive manner, he exhorted and charged all present to adhere steadfastly to the faith which they had professed. Having finished the service, and pronounced the blessing with a cheerful but exhausted voice, he came down from the pulpit, and, leaning upon his staff, crept down the street, which was lined with the audience, who, as if anxious to take the last sight of their beloved pastor, followed him until he entered his house, from which he never again came out alive.\*

On the Tuesday following, (Nov. 11,) he was seized with a severe cough, which, together with the defluxion, greatly affected his breathing. When his friends, anxious to prolong his life, proposed to call in the assistance of physicians, he readily acquiesced, saying, that he would not neglect the ordinary means of health, although he was persuaded, that the Lord would soon put an end to all his troubles.

\* As it is unnecessary to repeat the quotations, the reader may be informed, once for all, that the account of the Reformer's last illness and death is taken from the following authorities : "*Eximii viri Joannis Knoxii, Scoticanae Ecclesiae instauratoris, Vera extremæ vitæ et obitus Historia*," published by Thomas Smeton, principal of the university of Glasgow, at the end of his "*Responsio ad Hamiltonii Dialogum. Edinburgi, apud Johannem Rosseum. Pro Henrico Charteris. Anno Do. 1579. Cum Privilegio Regali*:"—"Journal of the Transactions in Scotland, (Annis) 1570—1573, by Richard Bannatyne, secretary to John Knox," 413—429, edited from an authentic MS. by J. Graham Dalyell, Esq. Anno 1806 :—Spottiswood's History, p. 265—267. Anno 1677, and Calderwood's MS. History, ad Ann. 1572 ; copy in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, transcribed Anno 1634. The two first of these works contain the most ancient and authentic narratives, both being written at the time of the event, and by persons who were eye and ear-witnesses of what they relate.

It was his ordinary practice to read every day some chapters of the Old and New Testament; to which he added a certain number of the Psalms of David, the whole of which he perused regularly once a month. On Thursday the 13th, he sickened, and was obliged to desist from his course of reading; but he gave directions to his wife, and to his secretary, Richard Bannatyne, that one of them should every day read to him, with a distinct voice, the 17th chapter of the Gospel according to John, the 53d of Isaiah, and a chapter of the Epistle to the Ephesians. This was punctually complied with during the whole time of his sickness; so that scarcely an hour passed in which some part of scripture was not read. Besides the above passages, he, at different times, fixed on certain Psalms, and some of Calvin's French sermons on the Ephesians. Sometimes as they were reading these sermons, thinking him to be asleep, they asked him if he heard, to which he answered, "I hear (I praise God,) and understand far better," which words he uttered for the last time, about four hours before his death.

The same day on which he sickened, he desired his wife to discharge the servants' wages; and next day wishing to pay one of his men servants himself, he gave him twenty shillings above his fee, adding, "Thou wilt never receive more of me in this life." To all his servants he gave suitable exhortations to walk in the fear of God, and as became Christians who had been educated in his family.

On Friday the 14th, he rose from bed sooner than his usual hour; and, thinking that it was the Sabbath, said, that he meant to go to church, and preach on the resurrection of Christ, upon which he had meditated through the whole night. This was the subject upon which he should have preached in his ordinary course. But he was so weak, that he need-



ed to be supported from his bed-side, by two men, and it was with great difficulty that he could sit on a chair.

Next day at noon, John Durie, and Archibald Steward, two of his intimate acquaintances, came into his room, not knowing that he was so sick. He rose, however, on their account; and having prevailed on them to stay dinner, he came to the table, which was the last time that he ever sat at it. He ordered a hogshead of wine which was in his cellar to be pierced; and, with a hilarity which he delighted to indulge among his friends, desired Archibald Steward to send for some of it as long as it lasted, for he would not tarry until it was all drunk.

On Sabbath he kept his bed, and mistaking it for the first day of the fast appointed on account of the French massacre, refused to take any dinner. Fairley of Braid, who was present, informed him that the fast did not commence until the following Sabbath, and sitting down, and dining before his bed, prevailed on him to take a little food.

He was very anxious to meet once more with the session of his church, to leave them his dying charge, and bid them a last farewell. In compliance with his wish his colleague, the elders, and deacons, with David Lindsay, one of the ministers of Leith, assembled in his room on Monday the 17th, when he addressed them in the following words, which made a deep and lasting impression on the minds of all. "The day now approaches, and is before the door, for which I have frequently and vehemently thirsted, when I shall be released from my great labours and innumerable sorrows, and shall be with Christ. And now, God is my witness, whom I have served in spirit, in the gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid doctrine of the gospel of the Son of God, and have had it for my only object to instruct the ignorant, to confirm

the faithful, to comfort the weak, the fearful, and the distressed, by the promises of grace, and to fight against the proud and rebellious, by the divine threatenings. I know that many have frequently and loudly complained, and do yet complain, of my too great severity; but God knows that my mind was always void of hatred to the persons of those against whom I thundered the severest judgments. I cannot deny but that I felt the greatest abhorrence at the sins in which they indulged, but I still kept this one thing in view, that, if possible, I might gain them to the Lord. What influenced me to utter whatever the Lord put into my mouth so boldly, without respect of persons, was a reverential fear of my God, who called, and of his grace appointed me to be a steward of divine mysteries, and a belief that he will demand an account of my discharge of the trust committed unto me, when I shall stand before his tribunal. I profess, therefore, before God, and before his holy angels, that I never made merchandize of the sacred word of God, never studied to please men, never indulged my own private passions or those of others, but faithfully distributed the talent intrusted to me, for the edification of the church over which I watched. Whatever obloquy wicked men may cast on me respecting this point, I rejoice in the testimony of a good conscience. In the mean time, my dearest brethren, do you persevere in the eternal truth of the gospel; wait diligently on the flock over which the Lord hath set you, and which he redeemed with the blood of his only begotten Son. And thou my brother, Lawson, fight the good fight, and do the work of the Lord joyfully and resolutely. The Lord from on high bless you, and the whole church of Edinburgh, against whom, as long as they persevere in the word of truth which they have heard of me, the gates of

hell shall not prevail." Having warned them against countenancing those who disowned the king's authority, and made some observations on a complaint which Maitland had lodged against him before the session, he was so exhausted that he was obliged to desist from speaking. Those who were present were filled with both joy and grief by this affecting address. After reminding him of the warfare which he had endured, and the triumph which awaited him, and joining in prayer, they took their leave of him in tears.

When they were going out, he desired his colleague and Lindsay to remain behind, to whom he said: "There is one thing that greatly grieves me. You have been witnesses of the former courage and constancy of Grange in the cause of God; but now, alas! into what a gulph has he precipitated himself! I intreat you not to refuse to go, and tell him from me, That John Knox remains the same man now when he is going to die, that ever he knew him when able in body, and wills him to consider what he was, and the estate in which he now stands, which is a great part of his trouble. Neither the craggy rock in which he miserably confides, nor the carnal prudence of that man (Maitland) whom he esteems a demi-god, nor the assistance of strangers, shall preserve him; but he shall be disgracefully dragged from his nest to punishment, and hung on a gallows before the face of the sun, unless he speedily amend his life, and flee to the mercy of God. That man's soul is dear to me, and I would not have it perish, if I could save it." The ministers undertook to execute this commission, and going up to the castle, obtained an interview with the governor, and delivered their message. He at first exhibited some symptoms of relenting, but having consulted with Maitland, he returned and gave



them a very unpleasant answer. This being reported to Knox, he was much grieved, and said, that he had been very earnest in prayer for that man, and he still trusted that his soul would be saved, although his body should come to a miserable end.\*

After his interview with the session, he was much worse: his difficulty of breathing encreased, and he could not speak without obvious and great pain. Yet he continued still to receive persons of every rank, who came, in great numbers, to visit him, and he suffered none to go away without exhortations, which he uttered with such variety and suitableness as astonished those who waited upon him. Lord Boyd came in and said, "I know, Sir, that I have offended you in many things, and am now come to crave your pardon." His answer was not heard, as the attendants retired and left them alone. But his lordship returned next day, in company with the earl of Morton, and the laird of Drumlanrig. His conversation with Morton was very particular, as related by the earl himself before his death. He asked him, if he was previously acquainted with the design to murder the late king. Morton having answered in the negative,† he said, "Well, God has beautified you with many benefits which he has not given

\* After the castle surrendered, and Kircaldy was condemned to die, Lindsay attended him at his earnest desire, and received much satisfaction from conversation with him. When he was on the scaffold, he desired the minister to repeat Knox's last words about him, and said that he hoped they would prove true. Mr. James Melville had this information from Mr. Lindsay. *MS. Diary*. p. 29, 30. See also Spottis. 266, 272.

† He acknowledged afterwards that he did know of the murder; but excused himself for concealing it. The queen (he said) was the doer, and as for the king, he was "sie a bairne, that thair was nothing tauld him but he wald reveill it to hir." *Bannatyne*. 191. 497.

to every man ; as he has given you riches, wisdom, and friends, and now is to prefer you to the government of the realme.\* And therefore, in the name of God, I charge you to use all these benefits aright, and better in time to come that ye have done in times bypast ; first to God's glory, to the furtherance of the evangel, the maintenance of the church of God, and his ministry ; next for the weal of the king, and his realm, and true subjects. If so ye shall do, God shall bless you and honour you ; but if ye do it not, God shall spoil you of these benefits, and your end shall be ignominy and shame."†

On Thursday the 20th, lord Lindsay, the bishop of Caithness, and several gentlemen visited him. He exhorted them to continue in the truth which they had heard, for there was no other word of salvation, and besought them to have nothing to do with those in the castle. The earl of Glencairn (who had often visited him) came in, with lord Ruthven. The latter, who called only once, said, " If there be any thing, Sir, that I am able to do for you, I pray you charge me." His reply was, " I care not for all the pleasure and friendship of the world."

A religious lady of his acquaintance desired him to praise God for what good he had done, and was

\* The regent Mar died on the 29th October preceeding. The nobility were at this time met to choose his successor, and it was understood that Morton would be raised to that dignity. He was elected regent on the day of Knox's death. Bannatyne, 411, 412, 427. The author of the *Historie of King James the Sext* says, that the regent died October 18, and adds, " efter him dyed Johne Knox in that same moneth," p. 197. But he has mistaken the time.

† Morton gave this account of his conference with the Reformer, to the ministers who attended him, before his execution. Being asked by them if he had not found Knox's admonition true, he replied, " I have fand it indeid." *Morto's Confession*, apud Bannatyne, 508, 509.

beginning to speak in his commendation, when he interrupted her. "Tongue, tongue, lady, flesh of itself is over-proud, and needs no means to esteem itself." He put her in mind of what had been said to her long ago, "Lady, lady, the black one has never trampit on your fute," and exhorted her to lay aside pride, and be clothed with humility. He then protested as to himself, as he had often done before, that he relied wholly on the free mercy of God, manifested to mankind through his dear Son Jesus Christ, whom alone he embraced for wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption. The rest of the company having taken their leave of him, he said to the laird of Braid, "Every one bids me good night, but when will you do it? I have been greatly indebted unto you, for which I shall never be able to recompence you; but I commit you to one that is able to do it, to the eternal God."

Upon Friday the 21st, he desired Richard Bannatyne to order his coffin to be made. During that day he was much engaged in meditation and prayer. These words were often in his mouth; "Come, Lord Jesus. Sweet Jesus, into thy hands I commend my spirit. Be merciful, Lord, to thy church which thou hast redeemed. Give peace to this afflicted commonwealth. Raise up faithful pastors who will take the charge of thy church. Grant us, Lord, the perfect hatred of sin, both by the evidences of thy wrath and mercy." In the midst of his meditations, he would often address those who stood by, in such sentences as these: "O serve the Lord in fear, and death shall not be terrible to you. Nay, blessed shall death be to those who have felt the power of the death of the only begotten Son of God."

On Sabbath 23d (which was the first day of the national fast,) during the afternoon-sermon, he,



after lying a considerable time quiet, suddenly exclaimed, "If any be present, let them come and see the work of God." Richard Bannatyne thinking that his death was at hand, sent to the church for Johnston of Elphingston. When they came to his bed-side, he burst out in these rapturous expressions: "I have been these two last nights in meditation on the troubled state of the church of God, the spouse of Jesus Christ, despised of the world, but precious in the sight of God. I have called to God for her, and have committed her to her head, Jesus Christ. I have fought against spiritual wickedness in heavenly things, and have prevailed. I have been in heaven, and have possession. I have tasted of the heavenly joys, where presently I am." He then repeated the Lord's prayer and creed, interjecting some devout aspiration at the end of every petition, and article.

After sermon many came in to visit him. Perceiving that he breathed with great difficulty, some of them asked, if he felt much pain. He answered that he was willing to lie there for years, if God so pleased, and if he continued to shine upon his soul, through Jesus Christ. When they thought him asleep, he was employed in meditation, and at intervals exhorted and prayed. "Live in Christ. Live in Christ, and then flesh need not fear death. Lord, grant true pastors to thy church, that purity of doctrine may be retained. Restore peace again to this commonwealth, with godly rulers and magistrates. Once, Lord, make an end of my trouble." Stretching his hands toward heaven, he said, "Lord, I commend my spirit, soul, and body, and all, into thy hands. Thou knowest, O Lord, my troubles: I do not murmur against thee." His pious ejaculations were so numerous, that those who waited on him could recollect only a part of them; for

seldom was he silent, when they were not employed in reading or in prayer.—During the course of that night his trouble greatly increased.

Monday, the 24th of November, was the last day that he spent on earth. That morning he would not be persuaded to lie in bed, but, though unable to stand alone, rose between 9 and 10 o'clock, and put on his Stockings and doublet. Being conducted to a chair, he sat about half an hour, and then went to bed again. In the progress of the day it appeared evident that his end drew near. Besides his Wife and Richard Bannatyne, Campbell of Kinyeancleugh, Johnston of Elphingston, and Dr. Preston, three of his most intimate acquaintances, waited by his bed-side. Mr. Campbell asked him, if he had any pain “It is no painful pain, but such a pain as shall I trust, put end to the battle. I must leave the care of my wife and children to you (continued he,) to whom you must be a husband in my room.” About three o'clock in the afternoon, one of his eyes failed, and his speech was considerably effected. He desired his wife to read the 15th chap. of 1st Corinthians. “Is not that a comfortable chapter?” said he, when it was finished. “O what sweet and salutary consolation the Lord hath afforded me from that chapter!” A little after, he said, “Now, for the last time, I commend my soul, spirit, and body (touching three of his fingers) into thy hand, O Lord.” About 5 o'clock he said to his wife, “Go, read where I cast my first anchor;” upon which she read the 17th chapter of John’s gospel, and afterwards a part of Calvin’s sermons on the Ephesians.

After this he appeared to fall into a slumber, during which he uttered heavy groans. The attendants looked every moment for his dissolution. At length he awaked as if from sleep, and being asked the cause of his sighing so deeply, replied,

“I have formerly, during my frail life, sustained many contests, and many assaults of Satan; but at present that roaring lion hath assailed me most furiously, and put forth all his strength to devour, and make an end of me at once. Often before has he placed my sins before my eyes, often tempted me to despair, often endeavoured to ensnare me by the allurements of the world; but with these weapons, broken by the sword of the Spirit, the word of God, he could not prevail. Now he has attacked me in another way; the cunning serpent has laboured to persuade me that I have merited heaven and eternal blessedness, by the faithful discharge of my ministry. But blessed be God who has enabled me to beat down and quench this fiery dart, by suggesting to me such passages of scripture as these, *What hast thou that thou hast not received? By the grace of God I am what I am: Not I, but the grace of God in me.* Being thus vanquished, he left me. Wherefore I give thanks to my God through Jesus Christ, who was pleased to give me the victory; and I am persuaded that the tempter shall not again attack me, but, within a short time, I shall, without any great bodily pain, or anguish of mind, exchange this mortal, and miserable life for a blessed immortality through Jesus Christ.”

He then lay quiet for some hours, except that now and then he desired them to wet his mouth with a little weak ale. At ten o'clock, they read the evening-prayer, which they had delayed beyond their usual hour, from an apprehension that he was asleep. After they concluded, Dr. Preston asked him, if he had heard the prayers. “Would to God,” said he, “that you and all men had heard them as I have heard them: I praise God for that heavenly sound.” The doctor rose up, and Mr. Campbell sat down before the bed. About eleven o'clock, he



gave a deep sigh, and said, *Now it is come*. Richard Bannatyne immediately drew near, and desired him to think upon those comfortable promises of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which he had so often declared to others; and, perceiving that he was speechless, requested him to give them a sign that he heard them, and died in peace. Upon this he lifted up one of his hands,\* and, sighing twice, expired without a struggle.

He died in the sixty-seventh year of his age, not so much oppressed with years, as worn out and exhausted by his extraordinary labours of body and anxieties of mind. Few men ever were exposed to more dangers, or underwent such hardships. From the time that he embraced the reformed religion, till he breathed his last, seldom did he enjoy a respite from these, and he emerged from one scene of difficulties, only to be involved in another, and a more distressing one. Obligated to flee from St. Andrews to escape the fury of cardinal Beatoun, he found a retreat in East Lothian, from which he was hunted by archbishop Hamilton. He lived for several years as an outlaw, in daily apprehension of falling a prey to those who eagerly sought his life. The few months during which he enjoyed protection in the castle of St. Andrews were succeeded by a long and rigorous captivity. After enjoying some repose in England, he was again driven into banishment, and for five years wandered as an exile on the continent. When he returned to his native country, it was to engage in a struggle of the most perilous

\* Bannatyne (p. 427) says "he lifted up his head;" but I have followed the account of Smeton (p. 123,) which seems more natural: "*Manum itaque, quasi novas vires jamjam moriturus concipiens, celum versus eriget, duobusque emissis suspiriis, e mortale corpore migravit, citra ullum aut pedum, aut aliarum partium corporis motum, ut potius dormire quam occidisse videretur.*"

and arduous kind. After the reformation was established, and he was settled in the capital, he was involved in a continual contest with the court. When he had retired from warfare, and thought only of ending his days in peace, he was again called into the field; and, although scarcely able to walk, was obliged to remove from his flock, and to avoid the hatred of his enemies, by submitting to a new banishment. Often had his life been threatened; a price was publicly set upon his head; and persons were not wanting who were disposed to attempt his destruction. No wonder that he was weary of the world, and anxious to depart. With great propriety might it be said, at his decease, that *he rested from his labours*.

On Wednesday the 6th of November, he was interred in the church-yard of St. Giles.\* His funeral was attended by the newly elected regent, Morton, the nobility who were in the city, and a great concourse of people. When his body was laid in the grave, the regent pronounced his eulogium, in the well known words, “*There lies He, who never feared the face of man.*”†

The character of this extraordinary man has been drawn with very opposite colours, by different writers,

\* Cald. MS. ad Ann. 1572. Bannatyne, 429. Spottiswood, 267. The area of the parliament square was formerly the church-yard of St. Giles. Some think that he was buried in one of the aisles of his own church. The place where the Reformer preached is that which is now called *The Old Church*. It has, however, undergone a great change since his time. The place now occupied by the pulpit, and the greater part of the seats, was then an aisle; and the church was considerably more to the north of the building than at present. The small church fitted up for him a few weeks before his death is called, by Bannatyne, the *Tolbooth*. Whether it was exactly that part of the building now called the Tolbooth church, I do not know.

† The verses written to the Reformer's memory may be seen in Note CCC.

and at different times. The changes which have taken place in the public opinion about him, with the causes which have produced them, form a subject not uncurious, nor unworthy of attention.

The interest excited by the ecclesiastical and political revolutions of Scotland, in which he acted so conspicuous a part, caused his name to be known throughout Europe, more extensively than those of most of the reformers. When we reflect that the Roman Catholics looked upon him as the principal instrument of the overthrow of their religious establishment in this country, we are prepared to expect that the writers of that persuasion would represent his character in an unfavourable light ; and that, in addition to the common charges of heresy and apostacy, they would describe him as a man of a restless, turbulent spirit, and of rebellious principles. We will not even be greatly surprized though we find them charging him with whoredom, because, being a priest he entered into wedlock, once and a second time ; or imputing his change of religion to a desire of throwing off the bonds of chastity by which the popish clergy were so strictly tied. But all this is nothing to the portraits which they have drawn of him, in which he is unblushingly represented, to the violation of all credibility, as a man, or rather a monster, of the most profligate character, who gloried in depravity, avowedly indulged in the most vicious practices, and, to crown the description, upon whom providence fixed an evident mark of reprobation at his death, which was accompanied with circumstances which excited the utmost horror in the beholders.\* This might astonish us, did we not know, from undoubted documents, that there were a number of writers, at

\* See Note BDD.



that time, who, by inventing or retailing such malignant calumnies, attempted to blast the fairest and most unblemished characters among those who appeared in opposition to the church of Rome, and that, ridiculous and outraged as the accusations were, they were greedily swallowed by the slaves of prejudice and credulity. The memory of none was loaded with a greater share of this obloquy than our Reformer's. But these accounts have long ago lost every degree of credit; and they now remain only as a proof of the spirit of lies, or of strong delusion, by which these writers were actuated, and of the deep and deadly hatred which was conceived against the accused, on account of his strenuous and successful efforts to overthrow the fabric of papal superstition and despotism.

Knox was known and esteemed by the principal persons among the reformed in France, Switzerland, and Germany. We have had occasion repeatedly to mention his friendship with the Reformer of Geneva. Beza, the successor of Calvin, was personally acquainted with him; in the correspondence which was kept up between them by letters, he expressed the warmest regard, and highest esteem for him; and he afterwards raised an affectionate tribute to his memory, In his *Images of Illustrious Men*. This was done, at a subsequent period, by the German biographer, Melchior Adam, the Dutch Verheiden, and the French La Roque. The late historian of the literature of Geneva,\* (whose religious sentiments are very different from those of his countrymen in the days of Calvin,) although he is displeased with the philippics which Knox sometimes pronounced from the pulpit, says, that he "immortalized himself by his courage against popery, and his

\* Mons. Senebier, Hist. Lit. de Geneve, i. 377.

firmness against the tyranny of Mary," and that though a violent, he was always an open and honourable enemy to the Catholics.

The affectionate veneration in which his memory was held in Scotland, after his death, evinces that the influence which he possessed among his countrymen during his life was not constrained, but founded on the opinion which they entertained of his virtues and talents. Bannatyne has drawn his character in the most glowing colours; and, although allowances must be made for the enthusiasm with which a favourite servant wrote of a beloved and revered master, yet, as he lived long in his family, and was himself a man of respectability and learning, his testimony is by no means to be disregarded.\* "In this manner (says he) departed this man of God: the light of Scotland, the comfort of the church within the same, the mirror of godliness, and pattern and example to all true ministers, in purity of life, soundness in doctrine, and boldness in reproof of wickedness; one that cared not the favour of men, how great soever they were. What dexterity in teaching, boldness in reproof, and hatred of wickedness was in him, my ignorant dulness is not

\* In a speech which he made to the General Assembly, 10th March, 1571, Bannatyne says: "It has pleasit God to mak me a servant to that man Johne Knox, whom I serve, as God beiris me witnes, not so mekle in respect of my worldlie commoditie, as for that integrity and vprytness which I have ever knowin. and presentlie vnderstandis to be in him, especiallie in the faythfull administratione of his office, in teaching of the word of God; and gif I vnderstude, or knew that he ware a fals teacher, a seducer, a raser of schisme, or ane that makis divisione in the kirk of God, as he is reported to be by the former accusationes, I wald not serve him for all the substance in Edinburgh." Journal. p. 104. 105.

The reader will observe, that the word servant, or servitor, in those days was used with greater latitude than in our time, and in old writings often signifies the person whom we call by the more

able to declare, wich if I should preis\* to set out, it were as one who would light a candle to let men see the sun; seeing all his virtues are better known, and notified† to the world a thousand fold than I am able to express.”‡

Principal Smeton’s character of him, while it is less liable to the suspicion of partiality, is equally honourable and flattering. “I know not (says he) if ever so much piety and genius were lodged in such a frail and weak body. Certain I am, that it will be difficult to find one in whom the gifts of the Holy Spirit shone so bright, to the comfort of the church of Scotland. None spared himself less in enduring fatigues of body and mind: none was more intent on discharging the duties of the province assigned to him.” And again, addressing Hamilton, he says, “This illustrious, I say *illustrious*, servant of God, John Knox, I will clear from your feigned accusations and slanders, rather by the testimony of a venerable assembly than by my own denial. This pious duty, this reward of a well spent life, all of them most cheerfully discharge to their excellent instructor in Christ Jesus. This testimony of gratitude they all owe to him, who, they know, ceased not to deserve well of all, till he ceased to breathe. Released from a body exhausted in Christian warfare, and translated to a blessed rest, where he has obtained the sweet reward of his labours, he now

honourable names of clerk, secretary, or man of business. As the drawing of the principal ecclesiastical papers, and the compiling of the history of public proceedings was committed to our Reformer, from the time of his last return to Scotland, he kept a person of this description in his family, and Bannatyne held the situation.

\* i. e. labour.

† In the printed book it is “not hid,” suppose it should be “notified.”

‡ Bannatyne, 427, 429.



triumphs with Christ. But beware, sycophant, of insulting him when dead ; for he has left behind him as many defenders of his reputation as there are persons who were drawn, by his faithful preaching, from the gulph of ignorance to the knowledge of the gospel.”\*

The divines of the church of England who were contemporary with our Reformer, or who survived him, entertained a great respect for his character. I have already produced the mark of esteem which bishop Bale conferred on him.† Aylmer, in a work written to confute one of his opinions, bears a voluntary testimony to his learning and integrity.‡ Bishop Ridley, who stickled more for the ceremonies of the church than any of his brethren at that period, and was displeased with the opposition which he made to the introduction of the English liturgy at Frankfort, expressed his high opinion of him, as “ a man of wit, much good learning, and earnest zeal.”§ Whatever dissatisfaction they felt at his pointed reprehensions of several parts of their ecclesiastical establishment, the English dignitaries rejoiced at the success of his exertions, and without scruple expressed their approbation of many of his measures which were afterwards severely censured by their successors.¶ I need scarcely add, that his memory was held in veneration by the English Puritans. Some of the chief men among them were personally acquainted with him during his residence in England, and on the continent ; others corresponded with him by letters.

\* Smetoui Resp. ad Hamilt. Dial. p. 95, 115.

† See above, p. 172, note.†

‡ Harborowe for faithful and Trewe Subjects, B. B 2. C. C 2, Life of Aylmer, p. 238.

§ Strype's Life of Grindal, p. 19, 20.

¶ Burnet, vol. ii. Appendix, part iii. B. vi. p. 351, 352.

They greatly esteemed his writings, procured his manuscripts from Scotland, and published several of them.\*

But towards the close of the sixteenth century, there arose another race of prelates, of very different principles from the English reformers, who began to maintain the divine right of diocesan episcopacy, with the intrinsic excellency of a ceremonious worship, and to adopt a new language respecting other reformed churches. Dr. Bancroft, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was the first writer among them who spake disrespectfully of Knox,† after whom it became a fashionable practice among the hierarchical party. This was resented by the ministers of Scotland, who warmly vindicated the character of their Reformer. King James, who began to long for his accession to the throne of England,

\* In a dedication of Knox's *Exposition of the Temptation of Christ*, John Field, the publisher, says: "If ever God shall vouchsafe the church so great a benefite; when his infinite letters, and sundry other treatises shall be gathered together, it shall appear what an excellent man he was, and what a wonderful losse that church of Scotland sustained when that worthie man was taken from them.—If, by yourselfe or others, you can procure any other his writings or letters here at home, or abroad in Scotland, be a meane that we may receive them. It were great pittie that any the least of his writinges should be lost; for he evermore wrote both godly and diligently, in questions of divinitie and also of church pollicie; and his letters being had together, would together set out an whole historie of the churches where he lived."

† In a sermon preached by him at Paul's Cross, before the Parliament of England, Feb. 9, 1588, on 1 John iv. 1. and afterwards published. He enlarged on the subject in two posterior treatises, the one entitled, "Dangerous Positions; or Scottish Genevating, and English Scottizing;" The other, "A Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline." Mr. John Davidson minister first at Libberton, afterwards at Prestonpans, answered Bancroft in a book, entituled, "Dr. Bancroft's Rashness in Railing against the Kirk of Scotland."

and carried on a private correspondence with Bancroft for introducing episcopacy into Scotland, took great offence at this, and said that Knox, Buchanan, and the regent Murray "could not be defended, but by traitors and seditious theologues." Andrew Melville told him that they were the men who set the crown on his head, and deserved better than to be so traduced. James complained that Knox had spoken disrespectfully of his mother; to which Patrick Galloway, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, replied, "If a king or a queen be a murderer, why should they not be called so?" Walter Balcanquhal, another minister of the city, having, in a sermon preached October 29, 1590, rebuked those who disparaged the Reformer, the king sent for him, and in a passion protested, that "either he should lose his crown, or Mr. Walter should recant his words." Balcanquhal "prayed God to preserve his crown, but said, that if he had his right wits, the king should have his head, before he recanted any thing he spake."\* Long after the government of the church of Scotland was conformed to the English model, the Scots prelates professed to look back to their national Reformer with gratitude and veneration; and as late as 1639, archbishop Spottiswood described him as "a man endued with rare gifts, and a chief instrument that God used for the work of those times."†

Our Reformer was never a favourite with the friends of absolute monarchy. The prejudices which they entertained against him were taken up in all their force, subsequent to the revolution, by the adherents of the Stuart family, whose reli-

\* Cald. MS. ad ann. 1590. quarto copy in Adv. Lib. vol. ii. p. 260, 261,

† Spottiswood, 261.



gious notions approximating very nearly to the popish, joined with their slavish principle respecting non-resistance of kings, led them to disapprove of almost every measure adopted at the time of the reformation, and to condemn the whole as a series of disorder, sedition, and rebellion against lawful authority. The Spirit by which the Jacobitish faction was actuated, did not become extinct with the family which was so long the object of their devotion : it has only changed its object. The alarm produced by that revolution which of late has shaken the thrones of so many of the princes of Europe, has greatly increased this party ; and with the view of preserving the present constitution of Britain, principles have been widely disseminated, which, if they had been generally received in the sixteenth century, would have perpetuated the reign of popery and arbitrary power in Scotland. From persons of such principles, nothing favourable to our Reformer can be expected. But the greatest torrent of abuse, poured upon his character, has proceeded from those literary champions who have come forward to avenge the wrongs, and vindicate the innocence of the peerless, and immaculate Mary, queen of Scots. Having conjured up in their imagination the image of an ideal goddess, they have sacrificed, to the object of their adoration, all the characters which, in that age, were most estimable for learning, patriotism, integrity, and religion. As if the quarrel which they had espoused exempted them from the ordinary laws of controversial warfare, and conferred on them the absolute and undefeasible privilege of calumniating and defaming at pleasure, they have pronounced every person who spake, wrote, or acted against that queen, to be a hypocrite or a villain. In the raving style of these writers, Knox was “ a fanatical incendiary, a holy savage, the son of

violence and barbarism, the religious Sachem of religious Mohawks."\*

The increase of infidelity, and of indifference to religion in modern times, especially among the learned, has contributed, in no small degree, to swell the tide of prejudice against our Reformer. Whatever satisfaction such persons may express, or feel, at the reformation from popery, as the means of emancipating the world from superstition and priestcraft, they must necessarily despise, or dislike men who were inspired with the love of religion, and who sought the acquisition of civil liberty, and the advancement of literature, in subordination to the propagation of the doctrines and institutions of Jesus Christ. Nor can it escape observation, that even among the friends of the reformed doctrine, in the present day, prejudices against the characters and proceedings of our reformers are far more general than they were formerly. Impressed with the idea of the high illumination of the present age, and having formed a correspondingly low estimate of the attainments of those which preceded it; imperfectly acquainted with the enormity and extent of the corrupt system of religion which existed in this country at the æra of the Reformation; inattentive to the spirit and principles of the adversaries with which our reformers were obliged to contend, and to the dangers and difficulties with which they struggled,—they have too easily received the calumnies which have been circulated to their prejudice, and hastily condemned measures which may be found, upon

\* Whitaker's vindication of queen Mary, *passim*. The same writer designs Buchanan "a serpent,—daring calumniator,—leviathan of slander,—the second of all human forgers, and the first of all human slanderers." Dr. Robertson he calls "a disciple of the old school of slander,—a liar,—and one for whom bedlam is no bedlam."

examination, to have been necessary to secure, and to transmit, the invaluable blessings which they now enjoy.

Having given this account of the opinions entertained respecting our Reformer, I shall endeavour to sketch, with as much truth as I can, the leading features of his character.

That he possessed strong natural talents is unquestionable. Inquisitive, ardent, acute; vigorous and bold in his conceptions; he entered into all the subtleties of the scholastic science then in vogue, yet, disgusted with its barren results, sought out a new course of study, which gradually led to a complete revolution in his sentiments. In his early years he had not access to that finished education which many of his contemporaries obtained in the foreign universities, and he was afterwards prevented, by his unsettled and active mode of life, from prosecuting his studies with leisure; but his abilities and application enabled him in a great measure to surmount these disadvantages, and he remained a stranger to none of the branches of learning cultivated in that age by persons of his profession. He united the love of study with a disposition to active employment, two qualities which are seldom found in the same person. The truths which he discovered he felt an irresistible impulse to impart unto others, for which he was qualified by a bold and fervid eloquence, singularly adapted to arrest the attention, and govern the minds of a fierce and unpolished people.

From the time that he embraced the reformed doctrines, the desire of propagating them, and of delivering his countrymen from the delusions and corruptions of popery, became his ruling passion, to which he was always ready to sacrifice his ease, his interest, his reputation, and his life. An ardent



attachment to civil liberty held the next place in his breast, to love of the reformed religion. That the zeal with which he laboured to advance these was of the most disinterested kind, no candid person who has paid attention to his life can doubt for a moment, whatever opinion he may entertain of some of the means which he employed for that purpose. "In fact, he thought only of advancing the glory of God, and promoting the welfare of his country."\* Intrepidity, a mind elevated above sordid views, indefatigable activity, and constancy which no disappointments could shake, eminently qualified him for the hazardous and difficult post which he occupied. His integrity was above the suspicion of corruption; his firmness proof equally against the solicitations of friends, and the threats of enemies. Though his impetuosity and courage led him frequently to expose himself to danger, we never find him neglecting to take prudent precautions for his safety. The opinion which his countrymen entertained of his sagacity, as well as honesty, is evident from the confidence which they reposed in him. The measures taken for advancing the reformation were either adopted at his suggestion, or submitted to his advice; and we must pronounce them to have been as wisely planned, as they were boldly executed.

His ministerial functions were discharged with the greatest assiduity, fidelity, and fervour. No avocation or infirmity prevented him from appearing in the pulpit. Preaching was an employment in which he delighted, and for which he was qualified, by an extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, and the happy art of applying them, in the most striking manner, to the existing circumstances of the church, and of his hearers. His powers of alarming the con-

\* Mons. Senebier.

science, and arousing the passions, have been frequently mentioned ; but he excelled also in opening up the consolations of the gospel, and calming the breasts of those who were agitated with a sense of their sins. When he discoursed of the griefs and joys, the conflicts and triumphs of genuine Christians, he declared what he himself had known and felt. The letters which he wrote to his familiar acquaintances breathe the most ardent piety. The religious meditations in which he spent his last sickness were not confined to that period of his life ; they had been his habitual employment from the time that he was brought to the knowledge of the truth, and his solace amidst all the hardships and perils through which he passed.

With his brethren in the ministry he lived in the utmost cordiality. We never read of the slightest variance between him and any of his colleagues. While he was dreaded and hated by the licentious and profane, whose vices he never spared, the religious and sober part of his congregation and countrymen felt a veneration for him, which was founded on his unblemished reputation, as well as his popular talents as a preacher. In private life, he was both beloved and revered by his friends and domestics. He was subject to the occasional illapses of melancholy, and depression of spirits, arising partly from natural constitution, and partly from the maladies which had long preyed upon his health ; which made him (to use his own expression) *churlish*, and less capable of pleasing and gratifying his friends than he was otherwise disposed to be. This he confessed, and requested them to excuse ;\* but his friendship was sincere, affectionate, and steady.

\* See Extracts from his Letter to " Mrs. Locke, 6th April, 1559 ; and to " A Friend in England, 19th August, 1569 ;" in the Appendix.

When free from this morose affection, he relished the pleasures of society, and, among his acquaintances, was accustomed to unbend his mind from severer cares, by indulging in innocent recreation, and the sallies of wit and humour, to which he had a strong propensity, notwithstanding the grave tone of his general character.

Most of his faults may be traced to his natural temperament, and the character of the age and country in which he lived. His passions were strong; he felt with the utmost keenness on every subject which interested him; and as he felt he expressed himself, without disguise or affectation. The warmth of his zeal was apt to betray him into intemperate language; his inflexible adherence to his opinions inclined to obstinacy; and his independence of mind occasionally assumed the appearance of haughtiness and disdain. A stranger to complimentary or smooth language, little concerned about the manner in which his reproofs were received, provided they were merited, too much impressed with the evil of the offence, to think of the rank or character of the offender, he often "uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence more apt to irritate than to reclaim." But he protested, at a time when persons are least in danger of deception, and in a manner which should banish suspicions of the purity of his motives, that, in his sharpest rebukes, he was influenced by hatred of the vices, not the persons of the vicious, and that his aim was always to discharge his own duty, and, if possible, to reclaim the guilty.

Those who have charged him with insensibility and inhumanity, have fallen into a mistake very common with superficial thinkers, who, in judging of the characters of persons who lived in a state of society very different from their own, have pronoun-



ced upon their moral qualities from the mere aspect of their exterior manners. He was stern, not savage; austere, not unfeeling; vehement, not vindictive. There is not an instance of his employing his influence to revenge any personal injury which he had received. Rigid as his maxims as to the execution of justice were, there are more instances on record of his interceding for the pardon of criminals, than perhaps of any man of his time; and unless when crimes were atrocious, or the safety of the state was at stake, he never exhorted the executive authority to the exercise of severity. The boldness and ardour of his mind, called forth by the peculiar circumstances of the time, led him to push his sentiments on some subjects to an extreme, and no consideration could induce him to retract an opinion of which he continued to be persuaded; but his behaviour after his publication against female government, proves that he was not disposed to improve them to the disturbance of the public peace. His conduct at Frankfort evinced his moderation in religious differences among brethren of the same faith, and that he was disposed to make all reasonable allowances for those who could not go the same length with him in reformation, provided they abstained from imposing upon the consciences of others. The liberties which he took in censuring from the pulpit the actions of individuals, of the highest rank and station, appear the more strange and intolerable to us, when contrasted with the silence of modern times; but we should recollect that they were then common, and that they were not without their utility, in an age when the licentiousness and oppression of the great and powerful often set at defiance the ordinary restraints of law.

In contemplating such a character as that of Knox, it is not *the man*, so much as *the reformer*, that ought

to engage our attention. The admirable wisdom of providence in raising up persons endued with qualities suited to the work allotted them to perform for the benefit of mankind, demands our particular consideration. The austere and rough reformer, whose voice once "cried in the wilderness" of Judea, who was "clothed with camel's hair, and girt about the loins with a leathern girdle," who "came neither eating nor drinking," who "laying the axe to the root of every tree, warned a generation of vipers to flee from the wrath to come," saying even to the tyrant upon the throne, "It is not lawful for thee;" he (I say,) was fitted for "serving the will of God in his generation;" and "wisdom was justified"\* in him, according to his rank and place, as well as in his Divine Master, whose advent he announced, who "did not strive, nor cry, nor cause his voice to be heard in the streets; nor break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax." To those who complain, that they are disappointed at not finding, in our national reformer, a mild demeanour, courteous manners, and a winning address, we may say, in the language of our Lord to the Jews concerning the Baptist; "What went ye out into the wilderness for to see? A reed shaken with the wind? What went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? Behold, they which are gorgeously apparelled, and live delicately, are in king's courts. But what went ye out for to see? A prophet? Yea, I say unto you, and more than a prophet." Those talents which fit a person for acting with propriety and usefulness in one age and situation, would altogether unfit him for another. Before the reformation, superstition, shielded by ignorance, and armed with power, governed with gigantic sway. Men of

\* Luke vii. 35.

mild spirits, and gentle manners, would have been as unfit for taking the field against this enemy, as a dwarf or a child for encountering a giant. “What did Erasmus in the days of Luther? What would Lowth have done in the days of Wicliffe, or Blair in those of Knox?” It has been justly observed concerning our Reformer,\* that “those very qualities which now render his character less amiable, fitted him to be the instrument of providence for advancing the reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face danger, and surmount opposition, from which a person of a more gentle spirit would have been apt to shrink back.” Viewing his character in this light, if we cannot regard him as an amiable man, we may, without hesitation pronounce him a Great Reformer.

There are perhaps few who have attended to the active and laborious exertions of Knox, who have not been led insensibly to form the opinion that he was of a robust constitution. This is however a mistake. He was of small stature, and of a weakly habit of body;† a circumstance which serves to give a higher idea of the vigour of his mind. His portrait seems to have been taken more than once during his life, and has been frequently engraved.‡ It continues still to frown in the bed-chamber of queen Mary, to whom he was often an ungracious visitor. We discern in it the traits of his characteristic intrepidity, austerity, and keen penetration. Nor can we overlook his *beard*, which, according to the custom of the times, he wore long, and reaching to

\* By Dr. Robertson.

† “Haud scio an unquam—magis ingenium in fragili et imbecillo corpusculo collocarit.” Smetoni Respons. ad Dialog. Hamilt. p. 115.

‡ A print of him, cut in wood, was inserted by Beza, in his *Icones*. There is another in, *Verheideni Imagines*. See also Grainger’s Biogr. History of England, i. 164.



his middle; a circumstance which I mention the rather, because some writers have assured us, that it was the chief thing which procured him reverence among his countrymen.\* A popish author has informed us, that he was gratified with having his picture drawn, and expresses much horror at this, after he had caused all the images of the saints to be broken.†

There is one charge against him which I have not yet noticed. He has been accused of setting up for a prophet, of presuming to intrude into the secret counsel of God, and of enthusiastically confounding the suggestions of his own imagination, and the effusions of his own spirit, with the dictates of inspiration, and immediate communications from heaven. Let us examine the grounds of this accusation a little. It is proper to hear his own statement of the grounds upon which he proceeded in many of those warnings which have been denominated predictions. Having, in one of his treatises, denounced the judgments to which the inhabitants of England exposed themselves, by renouncing the gospel, and returning to idolatry, he gives the following explication of the warrant which he had for

\* Henry Fowlis. apud Mackenzie's *Lives of Scottish Writers*, iii. 132, 133. The *learned* Fellow of Lincoln College had perhaps discovered that the magical virtue, ascribed to Knox by popish writers, resided in his beard.

† “*Audiui mente captos hereticos Scotos eo etiam insanie aliquando venise, quod sceleratissimi, atque omnium literarum imperitissimi nebulonis Knox, pessimi heretici, qui omnes imagines sanctorum frangi preceperat, imaginem suam non tam fabricari passum fuisse, quam jam fabricatam non parum probasse.*” Laingæus de *Vitæ et Moribus Hæretic.* p. 656. The same writer tells us, as a proof of Calvin's vain-glory, that he allowed his picture to be carried about on the necks of the men and women, like that of a god; and that, when reminded that the picture of Christ was as precious as his, he returned a profane answer; “*fertur eum hoc tantum respondisse, Qui huic rei invidet crepet medius.*” *Ibid.*

his threatenings. “Ye wald know the groundis of my certitude. God grant that, hearing thame, ye may understand, and stedfastlie believe the same. My assurances ar not the mervalles of Merlin, nor yit the dark sentences of prophane prophesies; but the plane treuth of Godis word, the invincibill justice of the everlasting God, and the ordinarie cours of his punismentis and plagis from the beginning ar my assurance and groundis. Godis word threateneth destructioun to all inobedient; his immutabill justice man requyre the same; the ordinar punishments and plaguis schawis exempillis. What man then can ceis to prophesie?”\* We find him expressing himself in a similar way in his defences of the threatenings which he uttered against those who had been guilty of the murder of king Henry, and the regent Murray. He refused that he had spoken “as one that entered into the secret counsel of God,” and insisted that he had merely declared the judgment which was pronounced in the divine law.† In so far then his threatenings, or predictions (for so he repeatedly calls them) do not stand in need of an apology.

There are, however, several of his sayings which cannot be vindicated upon these principles, and which he himself rested upon different grounds.‡ Of this kind were, the assurance which he expressed, from the beginning of the Scottish troubles, that the cause of the Congregation would ultimately prevail; his confident hope of again preaching in his native country, and at St. Andrews, avowed by him during his imprisonment on board the French galleys, and frequently repeated during his exile; with the inti-

\* Letter to the Faithfull in Londoun, Newcastle, and Barwick, apud MS. Letters, p. 113.

† Bannatyne, 111, 112. 420, 421.

‡ See the Epistle to the Reader, prefixed to his Sermon, apud History, p. 113. Edin. 1644, 4to.

mations which he gave respecting the death of Thomas Maitland, and Kircaldy of Grange. It cannot be denied that his contemporaries considered these as proceeding from a prophetic spirit, and have attested that they received an exact accomplishment. The most *easy* way of getting rid of this delicate question is, by dismissing it at once, and summarily pronouncing that all pretensions to extraordinary premonitions, since the completing of the canon of inspiration, are unwarranted, that they ought, without examination, to be discarded and treated as fanciful and visionary. Nor would this fix any peculiar imputation on the character or talents of our Reformer, when it is considered that the most learned persons of that age were under the influence of a still greater weakness, and strongly addicted to the belief of judicial astrology. But I doubt much if this method of determining the question would be consistent with doing justice to the subject. I cannot propose to enter into it in this place, and must confine myself to a few general observations. *Est periculum, aut neglectis his, impia fraude, aut suspectis anili superstitione, obligemur.\** On the one hand, the disposition which mankind discover to pry into the secrets of futurity, has been always accompanied with much credulity, and superstition; and it cannot be denied, that, the age in which our Reformer lived was prone to credit the marvellous, especially as to the infliction of divine judgments upon individuals. On the other hand, there is great danger of running into scepticism, and of laying down general principles which may lead us obstinately to contest the truth of the best authenticated facts, and even to limit the Spirit of God, and the operation of providence. This is

\* Cicero de Div. lib. i.



an extreme to which the present age inclines. That there have been instances of persons having presentiments and premonitions as to events that happened to themselves and others, there is, I think, the best reason to believe. The *esprits forts*, who laugh at vulgar credulity, and exert their ingenuity in accounting for such phenomena upon ordinary principles, have been exceedingly puzzled with these, a great deal more puzzled than they have confessed; and the solutions which they have given are, in some instances, as mysterious as any thing included in the intervention of superior spirits, or divine intimations.\* The canon of our faith is contained in the scriptures of the Old and New Testament; we must not look to impressions or new revelations as the rule of our duty; but that God may, on particular occasions, forewarn persons of some things which shall happen, to testify his approbation of them, to encourage them to confide in him in peculiar circumstances, or for other useful purposes, is not, I think, inconsistent with the principles of either natural or revealed religion. If this is enthusiasm, it is an enthusiasm into which some of the most enlightened and sober men, in modern as well as ancient times, have fallen.† Some of the reformers were men of

\* This is acknowledged by one who laboured more in this employment than any of them, and with more acuteness. “De tels faits, dont l’univers est tout plein, embarrassent plus les esprits forts qu’ils ne le temoignent.” Bayle, Dictionnaire, Art. Maldonat. Note G. He elsewhere says, that dreams “contain infinitely less mystery than the multitude believe, and a little more than sceptics believe;” and that those who reject them wholly, give reason either to suspect their sincerity, or to charge them with prejudice, and incapacity to discern the force of evidence. Ibid. Art. Majus. Note, D.

† “Setting aside these sorts of divination as extremely suspicious. (says a modern author, who was not addicted to enthusiastic notions) there remain predictions by dreams, and by sudden impulses,

singular piety ; they “ walked with God ;” they were “ instant in prayer ;” they were exposed to uncommon opposition, and had uncommon services to perform ; they were endued with extraordinary gifts, and, I am inclined to believe, were occasionally favoured with extraordinary premonitions, with respect to certain events which concerned themselves, other individuals, or the church in general. But whatever intimations of this kind they enjoyed, they did not rest the authority of their mission upon them, nor appeal to them as constituting any part of the evidence of those doctrines which they preached to the world.

Our Reformer left behind him a widow, and five children. His two sons, Nathanael and Eleazar, were born to him by his first wife, Mrs. Marjory Bowes. We have already seen that, about the year 1566, they went to England, where their mother’s relations resided. They received their education at St. John’s College, in the university of Cambridge, and after finishing it, died in the prime of life.\* It appears that they died without issue, and the family of the Reformer became extinct in the male line. His other three children were daughters by his second wife.† Dame Margaret Stewart, his widow, after-

upon persons who were not of the fraternity of impostors ; these were allowed to be sometimes preternatural, by many of the learned pagans, and cannot, I think, be disproved, and should not be totally rejected.” Dr. Jortin’s *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. i. p. 93. See also p. 45, 77. Lond. 1805. The learned reader may also consult the *epicrisis* of Witsius upon this question : the whole dissertation, in which he exposes the opposite extreme, is well entitled to a perusal. *Miscellanea Sacra*, tom. i. p. 391.

\* See Note EEE.

† In the records of the General Assembly, March 1573, is the following act. “ The Assemblie, considering that the travells of umqll Johne Knox merits favourable to be remembrit in his posteritie, gives to Margaret Stewart, his relict, and hir thrie daugh-

wards married Sir Andrew Ker of Fadouside, a strenuous supporter of the reformation.\* One of his daughters was married to Mr. Robert Pont, minister of St. Cuthberts;† another of them to Mr. James Fleming, also a minister of the church of Scotland;‡ Elizabeth, the third daughter, was married to Mr. John Welch, minister of Ayr.§

Mrs. Welch seems to have inherited a considerable portion of her father's spirit, and she had her share of hardships similar to his. Her husband was one of those who resisted the arbitrary measures pursued by James VI. for overturning the government and liberties of the presbyterian church of Scotland. For attending a meeting of the General Assembly at Aberdeen, in July 1605, when the king had sent directions for adjourning it, *sine die*, (in pursuance of a scheme laid for abolishing that court,) he was imprisoned; and for afterwards declining the privy council, as not the proper judges of that cause, he, along with other five ministers, was arraigned, and, by a packed and corrupted jury, found guilty, and condemned to the death of trait-

ters, of the said umqll Johne, the pensione qlk he himselfe had, in his tyme, of the kirk, and that for the year next approachand, and following his deceis, of the year of God, 1573. to their education and support, extending to five hundreth merks money, twa ch. quhait, sax ch. beir, four ch. aittes." Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 56.

\* Douglas's Feerage of Scotland, p. 522.

† See Note FFF.

‡ He was the grandfather of Mr. Robert Fleming, minister in London, and author of the well known book, *The Fulfilling of the Scriptures*. But Mr. Robert's father was of a different marriage. Fleming's *Practical Discourse on the Death of King William*, preface, p. 14. Lond. 1702.

§ Life of Mr. John Welch, 11, prefixed to his sermons, Glas. 1771. He was the father of Mr. Josias Welch, minister of Templepatrick in Ireland, and grandfather of Mr. John Welch minister of Irongray, in Galloway, who lived during the Scots episcopal persecution.



ors.\* Leaving her children at Ayr, Mrs. Welch attended her husband in prison, and was present at Linlithgow, with the wives of the other pannels, on the day of trial. When informed of the sentence, these heroines, instead of lamenting their fate, praised God who had given their husbands courage to stand to the cause of their Master, adding that, like Him, they had been judged and condemned under the covert of night.†

The sentence having been commuted into banishment, she accompanied her husband to France, where they remained for sixteen years. Mr. Welch having lost his health, and the physicians informing him that the only prospect which he had of recovering it was by returning to his native country, ventured, about the year 1622, to come to London. His wife, by means of some of her mother's relations at court, obtained access to the king, to petition for liberty to him to go to Scotland for the sake of his health. The following conversation is said to

\* The most of the jury were not present during the reasoning on the libel. When the jury were inclosed, the Justice-Clerk went in and sat among them. The greater part demurring to find the pannels guilty, the Chancellor went out and consulted with the other lords, who dealt with the reluctant jurymen to condemn the pannels, in order to please his majesty, promising that no punishment should be inflicted. By such disgraceful and illegal means they at last obtained a majority of three. "The reformation of Religion in Scotland, written by Mr John Forbes." MS. p. 131—151. The copy of this history, which is now before me, was transcribed "ex Authoris authographo." in the year 1726. The author was one of the condemned ministers. The History begins at the year 1580; but is chiefly occupied in detailing the transactions which preceded and followed the Assembly at Aberdeen. It contains a number of particulars respecting these not to be found in other histories, and an account of a plot formed for displacing the Lord Chancellor and President.

† Row's MS. Historie, p. 114, 123.

have taken place on that occasion. His majesty asked her, who was her father. She replied, Mr. Knox. "Knox and Welch!" exclaimed he, "the Devil never made such a match as that."—"Its right like, Sir," said she, "for we never speired\* his advice." He asked her, how many children her father had left, and if they were lads or lasses. She said, three, and they were all lasses. "God be thanked!" cried the king, lifting up both his hands; "for an they had been three lads, I had never bruiked† my three kingdoms in peace." She urged her request, that he would give her husband his native air. "Give him the devil!" a morsel which James had often in his mouth. "Give that to your hungry courtiers," said she, offended at his profanity. He told her at last that, if she would persuade her husband to submit to the bishops, he would allow him to return to Scotland. Mrs. Welch, lifting up her apron, and holding it towards the king, replied, in the true spirit of her father, "Please your Majesty, I'd rather kept‡ his head there."§

The account of our Reformer's publications has been partly anticipated in the course of the preceding narrative. Though his writings were of great

\* i. e. asked.

† i. e. enjoyed.

‡ i. e. receive.

§ I met with the account of this conversation in a MS. written by Mr Robert Traill, minister of London, entitled, 'An Accompt of Several passages in the lives of some eminent Men in the Nation, not recorded in any history.' It is inserted in the heart of a common-place book, containing notes of sermons, &c. written by him when a student of divinity at St. Andrews, between 1659 and 1663. He received the account from aged persons, and says the conference between king James and Mrs. Welch, is "current to this day in the mouths of many." I have since seen the same story in Wodrow's MSS. Collections vol. i. Life of Welch p. 27. Bibl. Coll. Glas. James stood much in awe of Mr Welch, who often reproved him for his habit of profane swearing. It is said, that if he had, at any time, been swearing in a public place, he would turn round, and ask, if Welch was near. Traill's MS.

utility, it was not by them, but by his personal exertions, that he chiefly advanced the Reformation, and transmitted his name to posterity. He did not view this as the field in which he was called to labour. "That I did not in writing communicate my judgment upon the scriptures (says he,) I have ever thought myself to have most just reason. For, considering myself rather called of my God to instruct the ignorant, comfort the sorrowful, confirm the weak, and rebuke the proud, by tongue, and lively voice, in these most corrupt days, than to compose books for the age to come, (seeing that so much is written, and by men of most singular erudition, and yet so little well-observed;) I decreed to contain myself within the bounds of that vocation, whereunto I found myself especially called."\* This resolution was most judiciously formed. His situation was very different from that of the early protestant reformers. They found the whole world in ignorance of the doctrines of Christianity. Men were either destitute of books, or such as they possessed were calculated only to mislead. The oral instructions of a few individuals could extend but a small way; it was principally by means of their writings, which circulated with amazing rapidity, that they benefited mankind, and became not merely the instructors of the particular cities and countries where they resided and preached, but the Reformers of Europe. By the time that Knox appeared on the field, their judicious commentaries upon the different books of Scripture, and their able defences of its doctrines, were laid open to the English reader.† What was

\* Preface to his Sermon, apud History, p. 113. Edin. 1644.

† Those who have not directed their attention to this point, cannot easily conceive to what extent the translation of foreign theological books into our language was carried at that time



more immediately required of him was to use the peculiar talent in which he excelled, and, "by tongue and lively voice," to imprint the doctrines of the Bible upon the hearts of his countrymen. When he was deprived of an opportunity of doing this, during his exile, there could not be a more proper substitute than that which he adopted, by publishing familiar epistles, exhortations, and admonitions, in which he briefly recalled to their minds the truths which they had received, and excited them to adhere unto them. These were circulated and read with far more ease, and to a far greater extent, than large treatises could have been.

Of the many sermons preached by him during his ministry, he never published but one, which was extorted from him by peculiar circumstances; and that one affords a very favourable specimen of his talents. If he had applied himself to writing, he was qualified for excelling in that department. He had a ready command of language, expressed himself with perspicuity, and with great animation and force. Though he despised the tinsel of rhetoric, he was acquainted with the principles of that art, and when he had leisure and inclination to polish his style, wrote both with propriety and eloquence. Those who read his letter to the queen regent, his answer to Tyrie, his papers in the account of the dispute with Kennedy, or even his sermon, will be satisfied of this. During his residence in England, he acquired the habit of writing the language according to the manner of that country; and in all his publications which appeared during his life-time, the

There was scarcely a book of any celebrity published in Latin by the continental reformers, that did not appear in an English version. Bibliographers, and the annalists of printing, are very defective in the information which they communicate on this branch.

English and not the Scottish orthography, and mode of expression, are used.\* In this respect, there is a very evident difference between them and the vernacular writings of Buchanan.

The freedoms which have been used with his writings, in the editions commonly read, have greatly injured them. They were translated into the language which was used in the middle of the seventeenth century, by which they were deprived of the antique costume which they formerly wore, and contracted an air of vulgarity which did not originally belong to them. Besides this, they have been reprinted with innumerable omissions, interpolations, and alterations, which frequently affect the sense, and always enfeeble the language. Another circumstance which has impaired his literary reputation is, that the two works which have been most read, are the least accurate and polished, as to style, of all his writings. His tract against female government was hastily published by him, under great irritation of mind at the increasing cruelty of queen Mary of England. His History of the Reformation was undertaken during the confusions of the civil war, and was afterwards continued, at intervals snatched from numerous avocations. The collection of his historical materials is a work of labour and time; but the digesting and arranging of them into a regular narrative require much leisure, and undivided attention. The want of these sufficiently accounts for the confusion that is often observable in that work. But notwithstanding of this, and of particular mistakes,

\* It is to this that Ninian Winzet refers, in one of his letters addressed to Knox. "Gif ye, throw curiositie of novationis, hes forzet our auld plane Scottis, quhilk zour mother lerit zow, in tymes cuming I sall wrytt to zow my mynd in Latin, for I am pocht acqyntit with zour *Southeroun*. Keith, App. 251.

it still continues to be the principal source of information as to ecclesiastical proceedings in that period, and, in all the leading facts, has been confirmed by the examination of other documents, although great keenness has been discovered in attacking its genuineness and accuracy.

His defence of *Predestination*, the only theological treatise of any size which was published by him, is rare, and has been seen by few. It is written with perspicuity, and discovers his controversial acuteness, with becoming caution, in handling that delicate question. A catalogue of his publications, as complete as I have been able to draw up, shall be inserted in the notes.\*

I have thus attempted to give an account of our national Reformer, of the principal events of his life, of his sentiments, his writings, and his exertions in the cause of religion and liberty. If what I have done shall contribute to set his character in a more just, or full light, than that in which it has been generally represented; if it shall be subservient to the illustration of the ecclesiastical history of that period, or excite others to pay more attention to the subject; above all, if it shall be the means of suggesting, or confirming proofs of the superintendence of a wise and merciful providence, in the accomplishment of a revolution of all others the most interesting and beneficial to this country, I shall not think any labour which I have bestowed on the subject to have been thrown away, or unrewarded.

\* See Note FFF.



## NOTES.

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### Note A. p. 6.

IN this note I shall throw together such facts as I have met with relating to the introduction of the Greek language into Scotland, and the progress which it made during the sixteenth century, referring what relates to the Hebrew to note DD. They are bare gleanings; but such as they are I trust they will not be altogether unacceptable to those who take an interest in the subject. Let not any who are proud of the present state of Scottish literature disdain the poor appearance which it made at its commencement. The corn which covers the fields of an extensive country, and supplies millions with food, might be traced back to a single grain thrown into the earth.

In the year 1522. Boece mentions *George Dundas* as a good Greek scholar. He was afterwards master of the Knights of St. John in Scotland, and had, most probably, acquired the knowledge of the language in France. "*Georgius Dundas grecas atq. latinas literas apprime doctus, equitum Hierosolymitanorum intra Scotorum regnum magistratum multo sudore (superatis emulis) postea adeptus.*" Boetii Vitæ Episcop. Murth. et Aberdeen. fol. xxvii. b. It is reasonable to suppose that other individuals in the nation might acquire it in the same way; but Boece makes no mention of Greek among the branches taught at the universities in his time, although he is minute on this head. Nor do I find any other reference to the subject previous to the year 1534, when Erskine of Dun brought a learned man from France, and employed him to teach Greek in Montrose, as mentioned above in that part of the Life, to which this note refers. At his school, George Wishart, the martyr, must have obtained the knowledge of the language, and he seems to have been successor to his master. But the bishop of Brechin (William Chisholm,) hearing that Wishart taught the *Greek New Testament*, summoned him to appear before him on a charge of heresy, upon which he fled the kingdom. This was in 1538. Petrie, part ii. p. 182. It is likely that Knox first derived his knowledge of Greek from George Wishart after his return from England. Buchanan seems to have acquired it during his residence on the continent. Buch. Ep. p. 25.

Lesly says that when James V. in his progress through the kingdom anno 1540, came to Aberdeen, among other entertainments which were given to him, the students of the university "recited orations in the Greek and Latin tongue composed with the greatest skill." "Orationes in Græca Latinaque lingua, summo artificio instructæ." Leslæus de rebus gestis Scotorum, lib. ix. p. 430. anno, 1675. When we consider the state of learning at that period in Scotland, there is strong reason to suspect that the bishop's description is highly coloured, yet as he entered that university a few years after, we may conclude from it that some attention had been paid to the Greek language at that time in Aberdeen. It had most probably been introduced by means of Hector Boece, the learned principal of that university. If the king was entertained with the great learning of the students of Aberdeen, the English ambassador was no less diverted, on the very same year, with the ignorance which our bishops discovered of the Greek tongue. The ambassador, who was a scholar as well as a statesman, had caused his men to wear on their sleeves the following Greek motto, ΜΟΝΩ ΑΝΑΚΤΙ ΔΟΥΛΕΙΩ, *I serve the king only*. This the Scottish bishops (whose knowledge did not extend beyond Latin,) read MONACHULUS, *a little monk*, and thereupon circulated the report that the ambassador's servants were monks, who had been taken out of the monasteries lately suppressed in England. To counteract this report, Sadler was obliged to furnish a translation of the inscription. "It appeareth, (says he) they are no good Grecians. And now the effect of my words is known, and they be well laughed at for their learned interpretation." Sadler's Letters, i. 48, 49. Edinburgh 1809. *Græcum est, non legitur*, continued to be an adage in Scotland, to a much later period, even among men who had received an university-education. Row's MS. History of the Kirk, p. 96. copy in Divinity, Libr. Edin.

To return to the school at Montrose: it was kept up, by the public spirit of its patron, until the establishment of the Reformation. Some years before that event, the celebrated scholar Andrew Melville received his education at it, under *Pierre de Marsiliers*, a Frenchman. He had made such proficiency in Greek, when he entered the university of St. Andrews, about the year 1559. that he was able to read Aristotle in the original language, "which even his masters themselves understood not." Life of Andrew Melville, p. 2. apud Wodrow's MSS. Collections. vol. i. Mr. James Melville's Diary, p. 32. For although the logicks, ethicks, &c. of Aristotle were then read in the colleges, it was in a Latin translation. The regent of St. Leonard's (says James

Melville) "tauld me of my uncle Mr. Andro Melville whom he knew. in the tyme of his cours in the new collag, to use the Greik logicks of Aristotle, quhilk was a wounder to them, he was so fyne a scholar, and of sic expectation." MS. Diary, p. 25.

By the first book of Discipline, it was provided, that there should "be a reader of Greek" in one of the colleges of each university, who "shall complete the grammar thereof in three months," and "shall interpret some book of Plato, together with some places of the New Testament, and shall complete his course the same year." Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 553. The small number of learned men, deficiency of funds, and the confusions in which the country was afterwards involved, prevented in a great degree, the execution of this wise measure. Owing to the last of these circumstances, some learned Scotsmen devoted their talents to the service of foreign seminaries, instead of returning to their native country. Buchanan Epist. p. 7. 9, 10, 33.\* On account of the searcity of preachers it was also found necessary to settle several of the learned men in towns which were not the seat of a university. But some of them undertook the instruction of youth, along with the pastoral inspection of their parishes. John Row taught the Greek tongue in Perth. See Note DD. It does not appear that the venerable teacher, Andrew Simson (See p. 5.) was capable of this task; but he was careful that his son Patrick should not labour under the same defect. He was sent to the university of Cambridge, in which he made great proficiency, and after his return to Scotland, taught Greek at Spot, a village in East Lothian, where he was minister. Row's MS. p. 96. of Copy in the Divinity, Lib. Edin. It is reasonable to suppose, that this branch of study would not be neglected at St. Andrew's during the time that Buchanan was Principal of St. Leonard's College, from 1565 to 1570. Patrick Adamson, to whom he demitted his office, and whom he recommended for his "literature and sufficiency," (Buch. Op. i. 10.) was not then in the kingdom; and the state of education languished for some time in that University. James Melville, who entered it in 1570, gives the following account. "Our regent begoud, and teached us the a, b, c, of the Greik, and the simple declinationis, but went no farder." MS. Diary, p. 26.

The return of Andrew Melville in 1573 gave a new impulse to literature in Scotland. That celebrated scholar had perfected himself in the knowledge of the languages during the nine years

\* One of these was Henry Scrimger, a good Grecian. Some particulars respecting him, not so commonly known, may be seen in Senebier Hist. liter. de Geneve, tom. i. art. Scrimger. See also Teissier, Eloges. tom. iij. 383—385. Leide 1715.



which he spent on the continent, and had astonished the learned at Geneva by the fluency with which he read and spoke Greek. Ut supra, p. 33. He was first placed as principal of the university of Glasgow, and afterwards removed to the same situation in St. Andrews. Such was his celebrity, that he attracted students from England and foreign countries, whereas formerly it had been the custom for the Scottish youth to go abroad for their education. Spottiswood, with whom he was no favourite, and Calderwood, equally bear testimony to his profound knowledge of this language, See Note DD. Soon after Melville's arrival, Thomas Smeton another good Greek scholar, came, and was made principal of the university of Glasgow. I may mention, although it belongs to the subject of typography, that there appear to have been neither Greek nor Hebrew types in this country in 1579, when Smeton's Answer to Archibald Hamilton was printed; for blanks are left for all the phrases and quotations in these languages, which the author intended to introduce. In my Copy of the book, a number of these have been filled up with a pen.

Note B. p. 8.

The following are some of the passages from which the account of Major's political sentiments, given in the text, has been drawn. Similar sentiments occur in his History of Scotland; but as it has been insinuated that he, in that work, merely copied Boece, and as his other writings are more rarely consulted, I shall quote from them.

“Ad policiam regalem non requiritur quod rex sit supra omnes sui regni tam regulariter quam casualiter—sed sat est quod rex sit supra unumquamlibet, et supra totum regnum regulariter, et regnum sit supra eum casualiter et in aliquo eventu.” Again, “Similiter in regno: et in toto populo libero est suprema fontalis potestas inabrogabilis; in rege vero potestas mysterialis [*ministerialis*?] honesto ministerio. Et sic aliquo modo sunt duo potestates; sed quia una ordinetur propter aliam, potest vocari una effectualiter, et casu quo regnum rex in tyrannidem convertat et etiam incorrigibilis, potest a populo deponi, tanquam a superiore potestate.” Expos. Matth. fol. 71. a, c. To the objection urged against this principle from the metaphorical designation of *Head* given to a king, he answers: “Non est omnino simile inter caput verum et corpus verum, et inter caput mysticum et corpus mysticum. Caput verum est supra reliquam partem sui corporis, et tamen nego regem esse majoris potestatis quam reliquam partem sui regni,” &c. Ibid. fol. 62. b. “Rex utilitatem republice dissipans et evertens incorrigibilis, est deponendus a communitate cui præest.—Rex non habet robur et auctoritatem nisi a rege cui libere

præest." Ibid. fol. 69. c. Speaking of the excision of a corrupt member from the human body in illustration of the treatment of a tyrant he says: "Cum licentia totius corporis veri tollitur hoc membrum; etiam facultate totius corporis mystici, tu, tamque minister comitatus, potes hunc tyrannum occidere, dum est licite condemnatus." Tert. Sentent. fol. 139. c, d.

Note C. p. 17.

We have no good *Monasticon* of Scotland; and it is now impossible to ascertain the exact number of regular clergy, or even religious houses that were in this country. The best and most particular account of the introduction of the different monastic orders from England and the continent, is contained in the first volume of Mr. Chalmers's *Caledonia*. Dr. Jamieson, in his history of the ancient Culdees, lately published, has traced, with much attention, the measures pursued for suppressing the ancient monks, to make way for the new orders which were immediately dependent upon Rome. In Spottiswood's Account, published at the end of Keith's Catalogue of Bishops, 170 religious houses are enumerated; but his account is defective. Mr. Dalryell, upon the authority of a MS. has stated the number of the monks and nuns in this country as amounting only to 1114, about the period of the Reformation. Cursory remarks prefixed to Scottish poems of the 16th century, vol. i. p. 38. 39. Edin. 1801. Taking the number of monasteries, according to Spottiswood's account, this would allow only seven persons to each house on an average, a number incredibly small. It will be still smaller if we suppose that there were 260 religious houses, as stated by the same author in another publication. Dalryell's *Fragments of Scottish History*, p. 11, 28. In the year 1542, there were 200 monks in Melrose alone. Ibid. The number in Dunfermline seems to have varied from 30 to 50. Dalryell's *Traet on Monastic Antiquities*, p. 13. Paisley, Elgin, and Arbroath, were not inferior to it in their endowments.

In general it may be observed, that the passion for the monastic life appears not to have been on the increase even in the early part of the 16th century. But if we would form an estimate of the number of the monks, we must allow for a great diminution of them from 1538 to 1559. During that period many of them, especially the younger ones, embraced the reformed opinions, and deserted the convents. Cald MS. i. 97. 100, 151. When the monastery of the Greyfriars at Perth was destroyed in 1559, only eight monks belonged to it. Knox, *Historie*, p. 128.

## Note D. p. 21.

The *corps-present* was a forced benevolence, not due by any law, or canon of the church, at least in Scotland. It was demanded by the vicar, and seems to have been distinct from the ordinary dues exacted for the interment of the body, and deliverance of the soul from purgatory. The perquisite consisted of the best cow which belonged to the deceased, and the uppermost cloth, or covering of his bed, or the uppermost of his body-clothes. It has been suggested that it was exacted on pretext of dues which the person might have failed to pay during his life-time. Whatever might afterwards be made the pretext, I think it most probable that the clergy borrowed the hint from the perquisites common in feudal times. The "*cors-present kow*" answers to the "*hereyeild horse*," which was paid to a landlord on the death of a tenant. The uppermost cloth seems to have been a perquisite belonging to persons occupying certain offices. When bishop Lesley was relieved from the Tower of London, a demand of this kind was made upon him: "The gentleman-porter of the Tower (says he) retained my satin gown as due to him, because it was my *uppermost-cloth*, when I entered in the Tower." Negotiations, apud Anderson's Collections, iii. 247.

The *corps-present* was not confined to Scotland. We find the English House of Commons complaining of it, Anno 1530, (Fox 907.) It was exacted with great rigour in Scotland; and if any vicar, more humane than the rest, passed from the demand, he gave an unpardonable offence to his brethren, (Lindsay of Pitscottie's Hist. p. 151. Edin. 1728, fol. Fox, 1153.) It was felt as a very galling oppression, and is often mentioned with indignation in the writings of Sir David Lindsay.

Schir, be quhat law, tell me, quharefor, or why?

That ane vicar suld tak fra me thre ky.

Ane for my father, and for my wyfe ane uther,

And the third cow he tuke for Mald my mother.

Thay haif na law, exceptand consuetude,

Quhilk law, to thame, is sufficient and gude.

\* \* \* \* \*

And als the vicar, as I trow,

He will nocht fail to tak ane kow

And upmaist claith thoct babis thame ban

From ane purie ane husbandman;

Quhen that he lyes for til de

Having small bairnis twa or thre.



And hes thre ky withoutin mo,  
 The vicar must have ane of tho,  
 With the gray cloke that happis the bed  
 Howbeit that he be purelye cled;  
 And gif the wyfe de on the morne,  
 Thocht all the babis suld be forlone,  
 The uther kow he cleikis away,  
 With hir pure cote of roplock gray;  
 And gif, within twa days or thre,  
 The eldest chyld hapnis to de,  
 Of the thrid kow he will be sure.  
 Quhen he his all then under his cure,  
 And father and mother baith ar deid  
 Beg mon the babis, without remeid.

Chalmers's Lindsay, ii. 7, 8. iii. 105.

When the alarming progress of the new opinions threatened the overthrow of the whole establishment, the clergy professed themselves willing to remit, or at least moderate, this shameful tribute. I need scarcely add, that it was abolished, along with similar grievances, at the establishment of the Reformation. "The uppermost claiith, corps-present, clerk-maile, the pasche-offering, teind-aile, and all handlings upaland, can neither be required nor received of good conscience." *First Book of Dicipline*, p. 48. Printed Anno 1621. *Dunlop's Confessions*, ii. 563.

Note E. p. 27.

We are indebted to the industrious English martyrologist for the greater part of the facts respecting our countrymen who suffered for the reformed doctrines. John Davidson, minister of Prestonpans, composed, in Latin, an account of the Scottish martyrs, which, if it had been preserved, would have furnished us with more full information respecting them. Calderwood, however, had the use of it when he compiled his history. A late author has said, that "most of those martyred seem to have been weak illiterate men; nay they appear even to have been deficient in intellect." *Cursory Remarks*, prefixed to *Scottish Poems of 16th century*, i. 24. I must take it for granted, that this author had not in his eye Patrick Hamilton, whose vigorous understanding discovered truth in the midst of darkness worse than Cimmerian, who obtained the praises of Luther, Melancthon, and Lambert of Avignon, and of whom Pinkerton has said that he received "the eternal fame of being the proto-martyr of the freedom of the human mind." Nor George Wishart, whose learning, fortitude, and mild benevolence, have been celebrated by writers of every

description. But even as to those who suffered from Hamilton to Wishart, I think there is scarcely one who was not above the ordinary class, as to rank and talents.

Henry Forrest, who suffered at St. Andrews in 1530, for possessing a copy of the New Testament, and affirming that Patrick Hamilton was a true martyr, had been, though a young man, invested with the orders of Bennet and Colet. Fox, 895. Knox, 19. Spottis. 65. David Straiton was a gentleman, being brother to the laird of Lauriston. He was instructed in the protestant principles by John Erskine of Dun, who had newly arrived from his travels. In 1534 he was committed to the flames at Greenside, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. His fellow-sufferer, Norman Gouriey, was in secular orders, and "a man of reasonabell eruditioun." He had been abroad, and had married upon his return, which was the chief offence for which he suffered. "For (says Pitseottie) they would thole no preist to marry, but they would punish, and burn him to the dead; but if he had used then ten thousand whores, he had not been burnt." History, p. 150, 152. Fox, 896. Knox, 21, 22. Spottiswood, 66. In 1538, two young men of the most interesting characters suffered, with the greatest heroism, at Glasgow. The one was Jerom Russel a cordelier friar, "a young man of a meek nature, quick spirit, and of good letteris;" the other was a young gentleman of the name of Kennedy, only eighteen years of age, and "of excellent ingyne for Scottische poetry." Knox, 22. Spottis. 67. Keith, 9. During the same year five persons were burned on the castle-hill of Edinburgh: Robert Forrester was a gentleman; Sir Duncan Simpson\* was a secular priest, Beveridge and Kyllor were friars. The last of these had, (according to the custom of the times) composed a tragedy on the crucifixion of Christ, in which he painted, in a very lively manner, the conduct of the popish clergy, under that of the Jewish priests. *Ut supra*.

The other person who suffered at the same time was *Thomas Forrest*, commonly called *the Vicar of Dollar*. I shall add some particulars respecting this excellent man, which are not to be found in the common histories. He was of the house of Forret, or Forrest, in Fife, and his father had been master-stabler to James IV. After acquiring the rudiments of grammar in Scotland he was sent abroad by the kindness of a rich lady, and prosecuted his education at Cologne. Returning to his native country, he was admitted a canon regular in the monastery of St. Colm's Inch. It happened that a dispute arose between the abbot and the canons, respecting the allowance due to them, and

\* *Sir* was a title given to priests. Spottis. 95.

the latter got the book of foundation to examine into their rights. The abbot, with the view of inducing them to part with this, gave them a volume of Augustine's works, which was in the monastery. "O happy and blessed was that book to me (did Forrest often say afterwards) by which I came to the knowledge of the truth!" He then applied himself to the reading of the Scriptures. The epistle to the Romans attracted his particular attention. He converted a number of the young canons; "but the old bottles (he used to say,) would not receive the new wine." The abbot frequently advised him to keep his mind to himself, else he would incur punishment. "I thank you, my lord, (was his answer,) ye are a friend to my body, but not to my soul." He was afterwards admitted to the vicarage of Dollar, in which situation he rendered himself obnoxious to his brethren, by his diligence in instructing his parish, and his benevolence in freeing them from oppressive exactions. When the agents of the pope came into his bounds to sell indulgences, he said, "Parishioners, I am bound to speak the truth to you. This is but to deceive you. There is no pardon for our sins that can come to us, either from pope or any other, but only by the blood of Christ." He composed a short catechism. It was his custom to rise at 6 o'clock in the morning, and study till mid-day. He committed three chapters of the Bible to memory every day, and made his servant hear him repeat them at night. He was often summoned before the bishops of Dunkeld and St. Andrews. These facts were communicated by his servant, Andrew Kirkie, in a letter to John Davidson, who inserted them in his account of Scottish martyrs. *Cald. MS. i. 99. 100, 151.*

An amusing account of his examination before the bishop of Dunkeld may be seen in Fox, 1153; and an interesting account of his trial, in Pitseottie, 150—152. But both these authors are wrong as to the time of his martyrdom, the latter placing it in 1530, and the former in 1540, instead of 1538. Fox says, that three or four men of Stirling suffered death at the same time, because they were present at the marriage of "the vicar of Twybodye, (Tullybody) near Stirling, and did eat flesh in lent, at the said bridall," p. 1154.

#### Note F. p. 27

I shall, in this note, mention a few facts respecting those eminent men who were obliged to forsake their native country, at this period, in consequence of having expressed their friendship to the Reformation.



*Gavin Logie*, who, in his important station of rector of St Leonard's College, was so useful in spreading the reformed doctrine, drew upon himself the jealousy of the clergy. More decided in his sentiments, and more avowed in his censure of the prevailing abuses, than the sub-prior of the abbey, (who seems to have maintained his situation until the establishment of the reformation,) *Logie* found it necessary to consult his safety by leaving the country in 1533, *Cald. MS. i. 82.* I have not seen any notice taken of him after this, *Robert Logie*, a kinsman of his, was a canon regular of Cambuskenneth, and employed in instructing the noviciates. Having embraced the reformed sentiments, he, in 1538, fled into England, and became a preacher there. *Thomas Cocklaw*, parish priest of Tullybody, seems to have accompanied him, and was employed in the same manner. *Ibid. p. 97.*

*Alexander Seatoun* was confessor to James V. The cause of his flight from Scotland, his letter to the king, and his retiring to England, are recorded in our common histories. *Fox*, (p. 100) informs us that he was accused of heresy before Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, in 1541, and induced to recant certain articles which he had preached. *Spottiswood* (p. 65.) speaks of "the treatises he left behind him," and among others "his examination by Gardiner and Bonner," from which it appears that "he never denied any point which formerly he taught." *Fox* had not seen this. We learn from another quarter that after his trial, he continued to preach the truths of which he had been accused. *Bale* mentions "*Processum suæ examinationis;*" among his works, and says, that he died in the family of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, who retained him as his chaplain. He places his death, in 1542. *Balei Script. Brytan. post. pars, p. 224.*

*Alexander Ales* was a canon of the metropolitan church of St. Andrews. His conversion to the protestant faith was very singular. Being a young man of quick parts well acquainted with scholastic theology, and having studied the Lutheran controversy, he undertook to reclaim Patrick Hamilton from heresy, and held several conferences with him for this purpose. But instead of this he was himself staggered by the reasoning of that gentleman. His doubts were greatly strengthened by the constancy with which he saw Hamilton adhere to his sentiments to the last, amidst the scorn, rage, and cruelty of his enemies. *Alesii Prefat. Comment in Joannem. Jacobi Thomasi Oratio de Alex. Alesio. Lipsiæ, 1683, apud Bayle, Dictionnaire Art. Ales.* A short time after, he delivered a Latin oration before an ecclesiastical synod, in which he censured the vices of the clergy, and exhorted them to diligence and a godly life. This bringing him under suspicion, he was thrown into prison, from which, after remaining a year, he made

his escape, and getting into a vessel which lay on the coast, eluded his persecutors. This was in 1532. Cald. MS. i. 76. He went to Germany; and in 1535 came over to England, recommended by Melancthon to archbishop Cranmer. Being present in the English convocation, he, at the desire of lord Cromwell, engaged, without preparation, in a dispute with the popish bishops on the sacraments. Henry VIII. used to call him *his Scholar*. Archbishop Parker calls him, *virum in theologia perductum*. In 1540 he returned to Germany, and was made professor of Divinity at Leipsic. He assisted at a public conference between the Roman Catholics and Protestants; wrote many books which were much esteemed; and was alive in 1557. Strype's Cranmer, p. 402, 403. Bayle, Dict. ut supra. Bishop Bale was personally acquainted with him, and has enumerated his works, p. 176.

*John Fife* also fled from St. Andrews, accompanied Aless to Germany, and shared in his honours at Leipsic. He returned to Scotland, acted as a minister, and died at St. Leonards, soon after the Reformation. Cald. MS. i. 78. Knox, 20. Strype's Cranmer, 403.

*John M'Bee*, known on the continent by the name of *Dr. Maccabæus*, fled to England, where he was entertained by Bishop Shaxton. He afterwards retired to Denmark, and was of great use to Christian III. in the settlement of the reformed religion in his dominions. He was made a professor in the university of Copenhagen. Gerdesii Historia Evang. Renovat. iii. 417—425. The Danish monarch held him in great esteem, and, at his request, wrote to queen Mary of England, in behalf of his brother-in-law Miles Coverdale, bishop of Exeter, the venerable translator of the Bible, who was released from prison through his importunity. Bale, ut supra, p. 226. Fox, 1390. Maccabæus was one of the translators of the Danish Bible, first printed at Copenhagen in 1550. Mattaire, apud Chalmers's Lindsay, i. 82. An edition of Lindsay's "Monarchie" bears on the title-page that it was "imprinitit at the command and expensis off Dr. Machabæus, in Capmanhouin." But the editor of Lyndsay insists that this is "a deceptive title-page." Ibid. 80, 81. Maccabæus was alive, and in the university of Copenhagen, anno 1557. Albert Thura, Histor. Literar. Danorum, p. 333. This writer (p. 274.) mentions "Annot. in Matthæum" as written by him, but does not say whether it was a MS. or printed book. Bale mentions another work of his, p. 226.

*Macdowal* repaired to Holland, and was so esteemed that he was raised, though a stranger, to the chief magistracy in one of its boroughs. Knox, 20.

*John Macbray*, or *Macbrair*, a gentleman of Galloway, fled to

England about 1538, and at the death of Edward VI. retired to Frankfort, where he preached to the English congregation. *Troubles of Franckford*, p. 13, 20, 25. Spottiswood, 97. He returned, to England upon the accession of Elizabeth, and became a preacher in that country. He is called "an eminent exile." *Styrpe's Annals*, i. 130. Grindal, p. 26. On the 13th November 1568, he was inducted to the vicarage of St. Nicholas, in Newcastle, and was buried there in November 1584. Dr. Jackson complains that "Mackbray, Knox, and Udale had sown their tares in Newcastle." Heylin speaks in the same strain. Brand's *Hist. of Newcastle*, p. 303. Bale, (p. 229.) says that Mackbray "wrote elegantly in Latin." Spottiswood mentions some of his works. *Ut supra*.

Of the celebrated *Buchanan* I shall say nothing here. His memoirs have been lately written by Dr. Irving. *James Harrison* was a native of the south of Scotland, and liberally educated, says Bale. He seems to have gone to England at a period somewhat later than the others mentioned in this note. He wrote a treatise *De regnorum unione*, in which he warmly recommended to his countrymen the advantages of an union with England. It was dedicated to the Duke of Somerset, in 1547. Bale (p. 225,) gives the first words of it, and calls it "elegans ac mellitum opus." *Robert Richardson* was a canon of the monastery of Cambuskenneth, and fled to England in 1538. *Cald. MS.* i. 97. I suppose this to be the same person who is called "Sir Robert Richardson, priest," in *Sadler's Letters*. He was sent into Scotland, in 1543, by Henry VIII. with a recommendation to the regent Arran, who employed him in preaching through the kingdom, along with Guillaume and Rough. When the regent apostatized from the reformed cause, he withdrew his protection from Richardson, who was obliged to flee a second time into England, to escape the cardinal's persecution. *Sadler's State Papers*, i. 210, 217, 344.

#### Note G. p. 28.

Poetry has charms for persons of all descriptions; and in return for the pleasure afforded them, mankind have in all ages been disposed to allow to poets a greater liberty than to other writers. But it must be confessed, that there is something very singular and unaccountable in the liberties which they were permitted to take, during the reign of popery, in exposing the corruptions of the church. The same persons, who, at the call of the pope and clergy, were prepared to undertake crusades for the extirpation of heresy, entertained and listened to poets who inveighed against the abuses of the court of Rome, and lampooned the



religious orders. One day they assisted at an *auto da fe*, in which heretics were burned in honour of the Catholic church; next day they were present at the acting of a play, in which the ministers of that church were held up to ridicule. In the height of power, and security of indolence, the clergy had despised and overlooked these attacks; it was only from experience that they learned their hurtful effects; and before they made the discovery, the practice had become so common that it could no longer be restrained.

Those who have investigated the causes of the Reformation from popery, have ascribed no small share of influence to the writings of poets. Boccacio, and other poets and satirists of Italy, by descanting upon the ambition, luxury, and scandalous manners of the clergy, contributed greatly to lessen the veneration in which they had been long held, and to produce in the minds of men a conviction of the necessity of a reformation. The writings of Chaucer, but especially of Langland, had the same effect in England. When the religious struggle had actually commenced and became hot, a diversion, by no means inconsiderable, was made in favour of the reformers by the satirists and poets of the age. A pantomime, intended to degrade the court of Rome and the clergy, was acted before Charles V. at the Augustan assembly. Lud. Fabricius de ludis scenicis, p. 231. Gerdesii Historia Evangel. Renovat. tom. ii. Docum. No. 7. p. 48. In 1524, a tragedy was acted at Paris, in the presence of Francis I. in which the pope and cardinals were ridiculed, and the success of Luther represented, by kindling a fire which all their efforts could not extinguish. Jacob. Burchard. de Vita Ulrici Hutteni. Pars ii. 293<sup>p</sup> pars iii. pp. 296. apud Gerdes. ut supra. As late as 1564, the pope's ambassador complained to the queen mother of France, that the young king, Charles IX. had assisted at a shew, in which he had counterfeited a friar. Letters of the Cardinal de St. Croix, prefixed to Aymons, Synodes Nationaux de France, tom. i. p. 7—11. Similar exhibitions took place in Holland. Brand's Hist. of the Reformation, i. 127, 128. Lond. 1720. And in England. Burnet's Hist. of the Reform. i. 318.

In Scotland, the same weapons were employed in attacking the church. The first protestant books circulated in Scotland came chiefly from England. Mr. Chalmers has mentioned "the very first reforming treatise which was, probably, written in Scotland," compiled by "John Gau," and printed at Malmoe in Sweden, anno 1533. We would have been still more obliged to the learned author, if he had given us some idea of its contents, instead of dismissing it with the flourish. "Had all been like this!" which, whether he meant to apply to the elegance of the printing, or the

orthodoxy of the sentiments, it is difficult to say. Caledonia, ii. 616. Calderwood seems to say that books against popery began to be printed in this country in 1543. MS. ad h. ann. But previous to that period the reformed sentiments were diffused by metrical and dramatic writings. The satire of Buchanan against the Franciscan friars was elegant and pungent, but, being written in Latin, it could be felt only by the learned. The same may be said as to his *Baptistes*. Kennedy and Kyllor, both martyrs, had a rich vein for Scottish poetry. Kyllor's scripture-drama (see p. 408) was exhibited before James V. at Stirling, about the year 1535; and the most simple perceived the resemblance between the Jewish priests and the Scottish clergy, in opposing the truth, and persecuting its friends. Knox, 22. Soon after, Alexander, Lord Kilmaurs wrote his Epistle from the hermit of Lareit to the grey-friars. Ibid. 24, 25. James Stewart, son of lord Methven, composed poems and ballads in a similar strain, after the death of the vicar of Dollar; and Mr. Robert Alexander, advocate, published the earl of Erroll's *Testament*, in Scots metre, which was printed at Edinburgh. Cald. MS. i. 103. But the poet who had the greatest influence in promoting the reformation was Sir David Lindsay. His "Satyre on the three Estates" and his "Monarchie" had this for their principal object. The former was acted at Cupar in Fife, in the year 1535; at Linlithgow, before the king and queen, the court, and country, in 1540; and at Edinburgh, before the queen regent, a great part of the nobility, and an exceeding great number of people, in 1554. Chalmers's Lindsay, i. 60, 61. Row says, that it was also acted "in the amphitheatre of St. Johnstoun." MS. p. 3. It exposed the avarice, luxury, and profligacy of the religious orders; the temporal power and opulence of the bishops, with their total neglect of preaching; the prohibition of the reading of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue, the extolling of pardons, relics, &c. In his "Monarchies," composed by him at a subsequent period, he traced the rise and progress of the papacy, and has discovered a knowledge of history, and of the causes that produced the corruption of Christianity, which would not disgrace any modern author. The poems of Lindsay, were read by "every man, woman, and child." Row, in his *Historie of the Kirk*, has preserved a striking instance of their influence, in alienating the scholars of Andrew Simson at Perth from the established religion, which led to the conversion of the master to the reformed faith. I shall not insert it here, as it has been lately published in the *Edin. Christian Instructor*, vol. i. p. 289. James Wedderburn, son of a merchant in Dundee, converted the history of the beheading of John the Baptist into a dramatic

form; and also the history of tyrant Dionysius, which were acted at Dundee. In both the popish religion was attacked. Cald. MS. ad ann. 1540. Dalyell's Cursory Remarks, p. 31.

In every protestant country, a metrical version of the psalms, in the vernacular language, appeared at a very early period. The French version begun by Clement Marot, and completed by Beza, contributed much to the spread of the Reformation in France. The Psalms were sung by Francis I. and Henry II. and by their courtiers: even Catholics flocked for a time to the assemblies of the Protestants to listen to their psalmody. Bayle. Dictionnaire, art. Marot, Notes N, O, P. At a later period, Cardinal Chastillon proposed to the papal ambassador, as the best method for checking the progress of heresy, that his holiness should authorize some good and godly songs to be sung by the French, "*cantar alcune cose in lingua Francese, le quali pero fossero parole buone et sante, et prima approvat de sua Beatitudine.*" Lettres de St. Croix, chez Aymons, ut supra, tom. i. 7, 9, 11. It has been said, that there was a Scots version of the Psalms at a very early period. Dalyell's Cursory Remarks, p. 35. It is more certain, that before the year 1546, a number of the Psalms were translated in metre; for George Wishart sung one of them (the 51st) in the house of Ormiston, on the night in which he was apprehended. Knox, Historie, p. 49. The two lines quoted by Knox answer to the beginning of the second stanza of the 51st Psalm, inserted in Scottish poems of the 16th century, p. 111. They were commonly sung in the assemblies of the protestants, anno. 1556. Knox, 96. John and Robert Wedderburn, brothers to the poet mentioned above, appear to have been the principal translators of them. Cald. MS. i. 108, 109. The version was not completed; and at the establishment of the Reformation, it was supplanted in the churches, by the more exact and improved version which was published at Geneva in 1559.

But the most singular measure adopted for circulating the reformed opinions in Scotland was the composition of "Gude and godly ballates, changed out of prophaine sanges, for avoyding of sinne and harlotrie." The two persons last named seem also to have been the chief authors of this composition. Cald. ut supra. Row's Hist. of the Kirk, p. 4. The title sufficiently indicates their nature and design. The air, the measure, the initial line, or the chorus of the ballads most commonly sung by the people at that time, were transferred to hymns of devotion. Unnatural, indelicate, and gross as this association must appear to us, these spiritual songs edified multitudes at that time. We must not think that this originated in any peculiar depravation of taste in our reform-



ing countrymen. Spiritual songs constructed upon the same principle obtained in Italy. Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici, i. 309. 4to. At the beginning of the Reformation in Holland the very same practice was adopted as in Scotland. "The protestants first sung in their families, and private assemblies, the psalms of the noble lord of Nievelte, which he published in 1540. ut homines ab amatoriis, haud rare obscenis, aliisque vanis canticis, quibus omnia in urbibus et vicis personabant. avocaret. Sed quia modulationes vanarum cationum (alias enim homines non tenebant) adhibere rat, &c." Gisberti Voetii Politica Ecclesiastica, tom. i, p. 534. Amstælod. 1663. 4to. Florimond de Remond objected to the psalms of Marot, that the airs of some of them were borrowed from vulgar ballads. A Roman Catholic version of the Psalms in Flemish verse, printed at Anvers, by Simon Cock, an. 1540, has the first line of a ballad printed at the head of every psalm. Bayle Dict. art. Marot. Note N. The spiritual songs of Colletet which were printed at Paris, with the royal licence, were formed upon the model of such ballads as this, *Il faut chanter une histoire de la femme d'un manant*, &c. Jurieu, Apologie pour les Reformateurs, &c. tom. i. 129. 4to.

Note H. p. 38.

Mr. Hume has, not very philosophically, inferred the savageness of Knox's temper from the evident satisfaction with which he wrote of Cardinal Beaton's assassination; and in this judgment he has been followed by many. If to express satisfaction at the cutting off of one who was regarded as a public enemy be viewed as an infallible mark of cruelty, we must pronounce the verdict upon many who were never before suspected of such a disposition. The manner in which the Christian fathers expressed themselves respecting the death of the persecutors of the church, is not unknown. See Julian the apostate, chap. vii, viii. apud Works of the Rev. Samuel Johnson, p. 22—24. Bayle, Critique Generale de l'histoire du Calvinisme p. 295. Even the mild and philosophical Erasmus could not refrain from declaring his joy at the violent death of two of the most learned and eminent reformers. "Bene habet (says he) quod duo Coriphæi perierant, Zuinglias in acie, Oecolampadius paulo post febris et apostemate. Quod si illis favisset Ευχαλιος, actum est de nobis." Epist. 1205, apud Jortin's Life of Erasmus, ii. 28. Mr. Walter Scott in his *Cadyow Castle* (See Lyric Pieces) has lately employed all his poetic powers to invest Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh with the character of a hero, in assassinating the regent Murray, a person who is no more to be

compared to cardinal Beaton than "Hyperion to a Satyr." I know the apology that will be made for the poet (although I think he might have found, in this, and in many other instances, a subject infinitely more worthy of his muse;) but what shall we say of the historian, who narrates the action of Bothwellhaugh *approvingly*, celebrates the "happy pencil" of the poet in describing it, and insults over the fall of Murray, by quoting a sarcastic line from the poem, in the very act of relating his death! Chalmers's *Caledonia*, ii. 571. Yet this same writer is highly displeased that Sir David Lindsay, in his *Tragedy of Beaton*, has "no burst of indignation" at the cardinal's murder; and twice over in the same work has related, with indignation, that on the margin of one edition of Knox's history, the part which James Melvin acted in that scene is called a "godly fact." Chalmers's *Works of Lyndsay*, vol. i. 34, 35. ii. 231. I mention these things to shew the need which certain writers have to look at home, and to judge of characters and actions with a little more impartiality, or at least consistency.

"It is *very horrid* (says Mr Hume), but at the same time *some what amusing* to consider the joy, alacrity, and pleasure which that historian [Knox] discovers in his narrative of this assassination." *History of England*, vol. vi. chap. iv. The historian makes a partial apology for Knox by the description which he gives of his own feelings; while he allows that what, in the main, excites horror, may produce some amusement. It is well known that there are writers who can treat the most *sacred* subjects with a *levity* bordering upon profanity. Must we at once pronounce them profane? and is nothing to be set down to the score of natural temper inclining them to wit and humour? The reformer rejoiced at the death of Beaton. And even those who could not approve of the act of the conspirators, were happy that he was taken away.

"As for the Cardinal we grant,

He was a man we weell might want,

And we'll forget him sone:

And yet I think the sooth to say,

Although the lown was weell away,

The deed was foully done."

The pleasantry which Knox has mingled with his narrative of his death and burial is unseasonable, and unbecoming. But it is to be imputed not, to any pleasure which he took in describing a bloody scene, but to the strong propensity which he had to indulge his vein of humour. Those who have read his history with attention must have perceived that he is not able to check this, even on very serious occasions. I shall at present refer to one instance only. None will doubt that his mind was deeply affected in re-

lating the trial and execution of his much esteemed friend and instructor, George Wishart. Yet even in the midst of his narrative of this, he could not abstain from inserting the truly ludicrous description of a quarrel which arose on the occasion between the archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow; for which he apologizes thus: "Gif we interlace merrines with ernest matters, pardone us, gude reidare; for the fact is sa notable, that it deservis lang memorie." See *Historie*, p. 51.

Note I. p. 54.

I shall transcribe his account of the exercise of his mind, during his confinement in the galleys, from the MS. copy of the *Treatise on Prayer* in my possession, preserving the original orthography, which is altered in the printed edition. Those who have access to the latter can compare the two together.

"I mene not (says he) that any man, in extremitie of trubill, can be without a present dolour, and without a greater feir of trubill to follow. Trubill and feir are the verie spurris to prayer. For when man, compassit about with vehement calamiteis, and vexit with continewall sollicitude, having by help of man no hope of deliverance, with soir oppressit and punissit hart, feiring also greater punishment to follow, from the deip pit of tribulation, doith call to God for comfort and support, such prayer ascendeth into Godis presence, and returneth not in vane." Having illustrated this from the exercise of David, as described in the 7th psalm, he proceeds. "This is not written for David onlie, but for all suche as sall suffer tribulation to the end of the world. For, I, the wryter hereof, (lat this be said to the laude and prais of God allone) in angusehe of mynd, and vehement tribulation and affliction, called to the Lord, when not onlie the ungodlie, but evin my faithfull brether, ye and my awn self (that is, all natural understanding) judgeit my cause to be irremeadable; and yit in my greatest calamitie, and when my panis wer most cruell, wold his eternall wisdom that my suld wryt far contrarie to the judgement of carnall reason, whilk his mercie hath pruned trew. *Blessit be his halie name.*" And therefore dar I be bold, in the veritie of Godis word, to promeis that notwithstanding the vehemencie of trubill, the long continewance thair of, the desperatioun of all men, the feirfulnes, danger and angusehe of oure awn hartis, yit, yf we call constandlie to God, that, beyond expectatioun of all men, he sall deliver, p. 52—54. After shewing that prayers for temporal deliverance ought always to be offered up with

\* The words in Italics are not in the printed copies



submission to the divine will, that God often delays the deliverance of the body while he mitigates the distress of the spirit, and sometimes permitteth his saints "to drink, before the maturity of age, the bitter cupe of corporall death, that thairby thay may receave medicene, and cure from all infirmitie," he adds: "Albeit we sie thairfoir no appeirand help to ourselves, nor yit to otheris afflictit, lat ws not ceis to call (thinking our prayeris to be vane,) for whatsoever cum of our bodies, God sall gif unspeikabill comfort to the spreit, and sall turne all to our comodeties beyound our awn expectation. The caus that I am so lang and tedious in this matter is, that I know how hard the battell is between the spreit and the flesh, under the heavie cros of afflictioun, whair no warldlie defence, but present death dois appeir. I know the grudging and murmuring complaints of the flesche; I know the anger, wrath, and indignatioun, whilk it consaveth aganis God, calling all his promissis in dout, and being readie everie hour utterlie to fall from God: aganis whilk restis onlie faith provoking us to call erneistlie, and pray for assistance of Godis spreit, whairin if we continew, our maist desperat calamiteis sall hie turne to gladnes, and to a prosperous end.\* To thee, O Lord, alone be prais; for with experience I wryt this, and speak." MS. Letters, p. 52—54. 65, 66.

The edition was printed most probably in England (*Rome* is in the title-page) during the persecution, from a MS. sent by Knox from Dieppe, and is so incorreet that it is often impossible to make sense of it. The following are specimens. "Diffysed," fol. 2. "diffieil," MS. "A pure word of God," fol. 2. "a puritie allowit of God," MS. "Consent," fol. 3. "conceat," MS. "May any other Jesus Christ, except I, in these wordes make intercession for sinners?" fol. 11. "May any other (Jesus Christ except) in these wordis mak intercession for sinneris?" MS. the transcriber having mistaken the concluding mark of parenthesis for the pronoun *I*. "Carkese slepe," fol. 16. "careleslie slepeth," MS. In quoting Isa. lxiv. 5. the printed edition has employed a word which I have not seen in any old version of the Bible. "Thou art *crabbid*, O Lord, because we have sinned," fol. 4. and again in verse 9. "Be not *crabbid*, O Lord, remember not our iniquities forever." In the MS. it is *angrie*, in both instances. In fol. xvi. is a greater variation. "For with such as do aleage that God may not chaunge his sentence, and our prayers therefore to be vayne, can I no wyse agree. Instead of this the MS. has, "whilk

\* The P. C. instead of "end" have "fyne," a word sometimes used in the MS. Letters.

thing if we do unfeanedlie, he will revoke his wrath, and in the middis of his furie think upon mercie.”—There are similar variations between the MS. and the printed copies of most of his other tracts. They shew that the MS. which I possess has not been transcribed from these copies, according to a custom pretty common in that age.

Note K. p. 57.

In reading the writings of the first reformers, there are two things which must strike our minds. The first is the exact conformity between the doctrine maintained by them respecting the justification of sinners, and that of the apostles. The second is the surprising harmony which subsisted among the reformers as to this doctrine. On some questions respecting the sacraments, and the external government and worship of the church, they differed; but upon the article of free justification, Luther and Zuinglius, Melancthon and Calvin, Cranmer and Knox, spoke the very same language. This was not owing to their having read each others writings, but because they copied from the same divine original. The clearness with which they understood and explained this great truth is also very observable. More learned and able defences of it have since appeared; but I question if ever it has been stated in more scriptural, unequivocal, decided language, than it was in the writings of the early reformers. Some of their successors, by giving way to speculations, gradually lost sight of this distinguishing badge of the reformation, and landed at last in Arminianism, which is nothing else but the popish doctrine in a protestant dress. Knox has informed us, that his design in preparing for the press the Treatise written by Sir Henry Balnaves was, to give, along with the author, his “confession of the article of justification therein contained.” I cannot, therefore, lay before the reader a more correct view of his sentiments upon this fundamental article of faith, than by quoting from a book which was revised and approved by him.

Having given the philosophical definition of justice or righteousness, and explained what is meant by civil and ceremonial justice, the author proceeds as follows. “The justice of the law morall or Moses’s law, which is the law of God, exceedeth and is far above the other two justices. It is the perfite obedience required of man, according to all the works and deeds of the same. Not only in externall and outward deed, but also with the inward affections and motions of the hart, conforme to the commandement of the same (saying.) Thou shalt love thy Lord God with all thy hart, with all thy mind, with all thy power, and strength, and

thy neighbour as thy selfe. This is no other thing but the law of nature, prented in the hart of man, in the beginning; nowe made patent by the mouth of God to man, to utter his sin, and make his corrupted nature more patent to himselfe. And so is the lawe of nature and the law of Moyses joyned together in a knot; which is a doctrine, teaching all men a perfite rule, to know what he should do, and what he should leave undone, both to God and his neighbour. The justice of the lawe, is to fulfill the law; that is, to doo the perfite workes of the law as they are required, from the bottome of the hart, and as they are declared and expounded by Christ; and whosoever transgresseth the same, shall never be pronounced just of the law. But there was never man that fulfilled this lawe to the uttermost perfection thereof (except onely Jesus Christ.) Therefore, in the lawe can we not find our justice, because of the deedes of the lawe no flesh shall be made just before God." p. 57, 58.

"For transgression of the commandment of God, our forefather Adam was exiled and banished forth of paradise, and spoiled of the integrity, perfection, and all the excellent qualities, dignities, and godlie vertues, with which he was indued by his creation, made rebell, and disobedient to God in his owne default. And therefore he might not fulfill the law to the perfection as the same required. For the lawe remaining in the owne perfection, just, holye, and good, requireth and asketh the same of man, to be in deed fulfilled. But all men proceeding from Adam, by naturall propagation, have the same imperfection that hee had; the which corruption of nature resisteth the will and goodnes of the law, which is the cause that wee fulfill not the same, nor may not of our power and strength, through the infirmitie and weaknes of our flesh, which is enemy to the spirit, as the apostle saith." p. 79, 80.

"Notwithstanding, after the fall of man, remained with our first parents some rest, and footsteppes of this lawe, knowledge, and vertues, in the which he was created, and of him descended in us; by the which, of our free will and power, we may do the *outward* deedes of the law, as is before written. This knowledge deceaved and beguiled the philosophers; for they looke but to the reason and judgement of man, and could not perceave the inward corruption of nature, but ever supposed man to bee clean and pure of nature, and might, of his own free wil and naturall reason, fulfill all perfection. And when they perceaved the wickednes of man from his birth, thay judged that to be by reason of the planete under whome he was borne, or through evill nourishing, upbringing, or other accidents, and could never consider



the corrupted nature of man, which is the cause of all our wickednes; and therefore they erred, and were deceaved in their opinions and iudgments: but the perfite Christian man should looke first in his corruption of nature, and consider what the law requireth of him, in the which he finding his imperfection and sinnes accused, (for that is the office of the law, to utter sinne to man, and giveth him no remedy,) then of necessitie is he compelled either to despaire, or seek Christ, by whom he shall get the justice that is of value before God, which can not be gotten by any law or works, because by the deedes of the law no fleshe shall be justified before God," p. 81—83.

"This proposition of the holy spirite is so perfite, that it excludeth (if ye will understande the same right) all the vaine foolish arguments of sophistrie made by the justifiers of them selves, which perverte the words of S. Paule (as they doo the other scriptures of God) to their perversed sence and mind; (saying,) that the apostle excludeth by these wordes the workes of the law ceremonial, and not the deedes of the law of nature, and morall law of Moyses. The which shameless sayings are expressly avacuat by the wordes of the apostle, insomuch that no man of righteous iudgement can deny, but shall feel the same as it were in their hands, by this probation. The law speaketh to all, that is, accuseth all men that are under the law. All men are under the law of nature, or the law of Moyses, therefore the apostle speaketh of the law of nature and Moyses, and of all men which he comprehendeth under Jewe and Gentill, as he proveth by his argumentes in the first and second chap. to the Romans, and concludeth in the third chap. all men are sinners. If all men bee sinners, none is just; if none bee just, none fulfill the lawe; if none fulfill the lawe, the lawe can pronounce none just; therefore concludeth he, that of the deedes of the lawe no fleshe shall be fonde just before God. The same is proved by David in the 13. Psalme. Here ye see by the words of the apostle, he intends to prove and declare all men sinners; that is, to stoppe all men's mouths, and to dryve them to Christ by the accusation of the law. No law may make or declare all men sinners, and subdue the whole world to God, but the law of nature and Moyses; therefore, under that word (law) the apostle comprehended the law morall, and not the law ceremonial only," p. 84, 85.

"But think not that I intende through these assertions to exclude good works; no, God forbid, for good workes are the gift of God, and his good creatures, and ought and should be done of a Christian, as shalbe shoven hereafter at length in their place; but in this article of justification, yee must either exclude all workes, or els exclude Christ from you, and make your selves just,

the which is impossible to do. Christ is the end or the law (unto righteousness) to all that beleve, that is, Christ is the consummation and fulfilling of the lawe, and that justice whiche the lawe requireth; and all they which beleve in him, are just by imputation through faith, and for his sake are reputed and accepted as just. This is the justice of faith of the which the apostle speaketh, Rom. the 10. chapter: therefore, if yee will be just, seeke Christ, and not the law, nor your invented workes, which are lesse then the law. Christ will have no mixtion with the law, nor workes thereof, in this article of justification; because the law is as contrarie to the office of Christ, as darknes to light, and is as farre different as heaven and earth; for the office of the law is to accuse the wicked, feare them, and condemne them, as transgressours of the same; the office of Christ is to preache mercy, remission of sinnes, freely in his bloude, through faith, give consolation, and to save sinners; for hee came not into this world to call them which are just, or think themselves just, but to call sinners to repentance," p. 100, 126, 127, 128.

"This faith which only justifieth and giveth life, is not idle, nor remaineth alone; nevertheless, it alone justifieth, and then it workes by charitie; for unfained faith may no more abyde idle from working in love, than the good tree may from bringing forth her fruit in due time: and yet the fruite is not the cause of the tree, nor maketh the tree good, but the tree is the cause of the fruit: and the good tree bringeth forth good fruite, by the which it is knowen good; even so it is of the faithfull man, the workes make him not faithfull nor just, nor yet are the cause thereof; but the faithful and just man bringeth forth and maketh good works, to the honor and glorie of God, and profit of his neighbour, which beare witness of his inward faith, and testify him to be just before man," p. 131, 132. In the following part of the Treatise, the author shews at large, that the doctrine of gratuitous justification does not release Christians from obligation to perform good works, and inculcates the duties incumbent upon them in the different spheres of life in which they may be placed. *Confession of Faith; conteining how the troubled man should seeke refuge at his God; compiled by M. Henry Balnaves of Halhill, and one of the Lords of Session of Scotland, being a prisoner within the old pallaice of Roune, in the year 1548. T. Vautrollier, Edin. 1548.*

#### Notes L. p. 67.

I never saw any printed copy of Knox's Defence before Tontall, bishop of Durham; and the knowledge which I have of its having been published is derived entirely from the Harleian Mis-

cellany, where the title page is given. The following quotations are given from the MS. in my possession.\* “The fourt of Apryle in the yeir 1550, was appoyntit to Johne Knox, preacher of the halie evangell of Jesus Chryst, to gif his confessioun why he affirmed the mas idolatrie; whilk day, in presence of the consale and congregation, amangis whome was also present the bischope of Duram and his doctors, on this manner he beginneth.”

“This day I do appeir in your presence, honourabill audience, to gif a reasone why so constantlie I do affirm the mes to be, and at all tymes to haif bene, idolatrie and abominatioun before God; and becaus men of great eruditoun, in your audience, affirmed the contrarie, most gladdie wold I that heir thay wer present, either in proper persone, or els by thair learnit men, to ponder and wey the causis moveing me thairto: for unles I evidently prufe myne intent be Goddis halie scriptures, I will recant it as wickit doctrine, and confes my self maist worthie of grevous punisment. How diffieil it is to pull furth of the hartis of the pepill the thing whairin opinioun of holines standeth, declareth the great tumult and uprore moveit aganis Paule by Demetrius and his fellowis, who by idolatrie gat great vantage, as oure priestis have done be the mase in tymes past. The pepill, I say, heering that the honor of thair great goddess Diana stood in jeopardie, with furious voces cryit, great is Diana of the Ephesians;—and heirunto wer thay moveit be lang custome and fals opinioun. I knaw, that in the mass hath not onlie bene estemit great holines and honoring of God, but also the ground and foundation of oure religioun, so that in the opinioun of many, the mas taken away, thair resteth no trew wirschipping nor honoring of God in the erth. The deiper hath it persit the hartis of men yat it occupyith the place of the last and mistical supper of our Lord Jesus. But if I sal be plane and evident scriptures prove the mass, in hir maist honest garment, to haif bene idolatrie befor God, and blasphemous to the death and passioun of Chryst, and contrarie to the supper of Jesus Chryst, than gude hope have I, honorable audience, and belovit brethrene, that the feir, love, and obedience of God, who in his scriptures hath spoken in all veritie necessarie for oure salvatioun, sall move you to gif place to the same. O Lord eternal! move and governe my tounge to speak the veritie, and the hartis of thir pepill to understand and obey the same.”

p. 1, 2.

In proof of his assertion, he advanced and defended two syllogisms. The first is thus stated: “All wirschipping, honoring,

\* The orthography of the MS. is retained: only the contracted syllables are extended.



er service inventit by the brane of man, in the religioun of God, without his expres commandement, isi dolatrie. The mase is inventit by the brane of man without any commandement of God. Thairfoir it is idolatrie." The second syllogism is thus framed : "All honoring or service of God whairunto is added a wickit opinioun, is abominatioun. Unto the mes is addit a wickit opinioun. Thairfoir it is abominatioun." p. 3, 21. The manner in which our Reformer proceeded in this controversy, by resting his defence upon these propositions, especially the first, corresponds with the boldness which characterised all his proceedings. A more cautious and timid disputant would have satisfied himself with attacking the more gross notions entertained by the papists on this subject, and the glaring abuses practised in the celebration and selling of masses. He aimed his blow directly at the root of all these evils, by advancing a principle, which, provided it was established, overthrew the whole system of superstition and will-worship. In support of the major proposition of his first syllogism, he argues from 1 Sam. xiii. 11—14. xv. 22, 23. Deut. iv. 2. xii. 8, 32. 1 Cor. xi. 23. Take the following as a specimen. "We may not think us so frie nor wyse that we may do unto God, and unto his honour, what we think expedient. No: the contrarie is commandit of God, saying, *Unto my word sall ye ad nothing, nothing sall ye diminische thairfrome, that ye might observe the precepts of your Lord God.* Whilk wordis ar not to be understaud of the decalogue and law moral onlie, but of statutis, rytes, and ceremonies; for equall obedience of all his lawis requyreth God. And in witnes thair of, Nadib and Abihu offering strange fire, whair of God had gevin unto thame na charge, wer instantlie, as thay offerit, punissit to death by fire.—In the punishment of theis two afoirsaid is to be observit, that Nadab and Abihu wer the principal preists nixt to Aron their father, and that thay wer comprehendit neither in adulterie, covetusesnes, nor desyre of warldlie honor, but of a gud zeall and simpill intent wer making sacrifice, desyring no profit of the pepill thairby, but to honor God, and to mitigate his wraith. And yet in the doing of this self same act and sacrafice wer thay consumit away with fyre; whair of it is plane, that nether the pre-eminence of the persone, or man that maketh or setteth up an religion without the express commandement of God, nor yet the intent whair of he doith the same, is acceptit befoir God: for nothing in his religioun will he admit without his awn word, but all that is addit thairto doith he abhor." p. 6, 7.

The following extracts will exemplify the irony with which he treated the popish tenets. "Jesus Chryst sayeth, *I will lay upon you none other burdene than I haif a'reide: and, that whilk*

*ye haif observe diligentlie.* O God eternal! hast thou laid none burdene upon our backis than Jesus Christ laid be his word? Then who hath burdened ws with all theis ceremoneis? prescribid fasting, compellit chastitie, unlawful vowis, invocatioun of sanctis, and with the idolatrie of the mese? The divill, the divill, brethrene, inventit all theis burdenis to depres imprudent men to perdition,” p. 10. Speaking of the canon of the mass, he saith, “I will preve, that thairin is indigest, barbarous, folische congestion of wordis, imperfection of sentences, ungodlie invocations, and diabolicall conjurations. And this is that holie canon whois autoritie precelleth all scriptures, and was so holie as might not be spoken planelie as the rest, but secreitlie it behoved to be whisperit! That was not evil devysit; for yf all men had hard it, sum would have espyit the vanitie thair of.—Thay say, *hoc est enim corpus meum*. I pray thame schew whair fund thay *enim*? O! heir mak thay a great matter; and heir lyeth a secreit misterie, and hid operatioun! For in *fyve* wordis conceaved the virgin Marie, say thay, when scho conceavit the Sone of God. What yf sehe had spoken sevin, ten, or twentie wordis? or what yf sehe had spokin thrie? Suld thairby the determinat consalle bene impedit? O papists! is God a juglar? Useth hie certaine noumer of wordis in performing his intent?” p. 18, 19.

Note M. p. 69.

In the Communion book, as set forth anno 1548, the words pronounced by the minister at delivering the bread were, “The body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul into everlasting life.” And at the delivery of the cup, “The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve,” &c. As altered in the reviewed Prayer-book, the words pronounced were, “Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on him in thy heart by faith. Drink this in remembrance Christ’s blood was shed for thee, and be thankful.” A rubric was also added, to be read at the celebration of the communion, declaring, that although the posture of kneeling was retained to signify our humble and grateful acknowledgment of the benefits of Christ, and to prevent profanation and disorder; yet “no adoration is intended or ought to be done, either to the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or unto any corporal presence of Christ’s natural flesh and blood: for the bread and wine retained their natural substances, and Christ’s natural body was in heaven, and could not be in more places than one at the same time.” Collier, ii. 310. Records, No. 70.

In the settlement of religion, at the commencement of Eliza-

beth's reign, the old form of words at delivering the elements, was superinduced upon the new, which, like the patching of old and new cloth upon a garment, marred the whole, and pleased neither protestants nor papists. The rubric, explanatory of kneeling, was thrown out. At the restoration of Charles II. "the church thought fit (says Collier) to *condescend so far* as to restore the rubric of king Edward's reign," to please "some people either of weak judgments or contentious humours." A piece of *condescension* with which the historian pretty plainly intimates his dissatisfaction.—In the liturgy which was attempted to be imposed upon the Scottish church, anno 1637, all the qualifications and explications in the last prayer-book of Edward VI. were completely excluded, and various expressions, postures, and gestures, favourable to the popish notions and superstition, were unblushingly borrowed from the mass-book. But the rulers of the church in the three kingdoms were then posting fast to Rome, when they were overturned in their mad career.

Note N. p. 85.

I shall endeavour to compress the body of evidence which can be produced for the conformity between the private sentiments of the English reformers respecting worship and church-government, and those of Knox along with the reformers of Switzerland and Geneva. Hooper, in a letter dated Feb. 8, 1550, informs Bullinger that "the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Rochester, Ely, St. David's, Lincoln, and Bath, were sincerely bent on advancing the purity of doctrine, agreeing in ALL THINGS with the Helvetic churches." Burnet, iii. 201. Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, in a letter to Gualter, Feb. 4, 1573, fervently exclaims, "O! would to God, would to God, once at last, all the English people would in good earnest propound to themselves to follow the church of Zurich as the most absolute pattern." Strype's Annals, ii. 286, 342.

Cranmer expressed his opinion formally in writing, that "the bishops and priests were at one time, and were no two things, but both ONE OFFICE in the beginning of Christ's religion."—"The bishop of St. David's, my lord elect of Westminster, Dr. Cox, Dr. Redman, say that *at the beginning they were all ONE.*" Collier, ii. Records, No. 49. Burnet, i. Append. p. 223—225. Thirteen bishops, with a great number of other ecclesiastics, subscribed this proposition, "that in the New Testament there is no mention made of any degrees or distinctions in orders, but only of deacons or ministers, and of priests or bishops." Burnet, *ut supra*,



p. 324. Cranmer says "In the New Testament he that is appointed a bishop or a priest, needeth not consecration by the scripture, for election, or appointment thereto is sufficient." Of the same judgment was the bishop of St. David's. Ibid: 228, 230. Latimer and Hooper maintained the identity of bishops and presbyters, by divine institution. Voetii Polit. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 837. This was also the opinion of Pilkington, bishop of Durham. Treatise on the burning of St. Paul's, apud. Cald. Altare Damas. p. 204. Bishop Jewel assents to it in his apology against Harding, p. 121. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, he expressed his hope that "the bishops would become pastors, labourers, and watchmen, and that the great riches of bishoprics would be diminished and reduced to mediocrity, that being delivered from regal and courtly pomp, they might take care of the flock of Christ." Burnet, iii. 288. In the same year, Dr. Aylmer addressed the right reverend bench in these terms: "Come of, you bishops, away with your superfluities, yield up your thousands, be content with hundreds, as they be in other reformed churches, where there be as great learned men as you are. Let your portion be priestlike, and not princelike. Let the Queen have the rest of your temporalities and other lands to maintain these warres which you procured, and your mistresse left her; and with the reste builde and found scholes thorow outte the realme: that every parische church may have his preacher, every city his superintendent, to live honestly and not pompously; which will never be onles your landes be dispersed and bestowed upon many which now feedeth and fatteth but one.—I would our countryman Wieliefe's boke which he wrote, *De Ecclesia*, were in print, and there should you see that your wrinches and cavillations be nothing worthe. It was my chaunce to happen of it in ones hand that brought it out of Bohemia." An Harborowe for faithful and trewe subjects. O. 4. Cranmer expressed himself in a similar strain respecting the vain glorious styles and pomp which were come into the church through the working of the spirit of Diotrephes, and professed his readiness to lay them aside. Strype's Cranmer, Append. p. 20. Burnet, iii. 405. Append. p. 88. In fact, the title of *bishop* was very generally disused in common speech, during the reign of Edward VI. and that of *superintendent* substituted in its place. Ponet, bishop of Winchester, vindicated this practice, in an answer which he published to a popish writer. Strype's Memorials of the Reformation, ii. 444, 445.

It was proposed by Cranmer to erect courts similar to the kirk sessions and provincial synods afterwards introduced into the Scottish church. Burnet, iii. 214. Reformatio Leg. Eccles. cap. 8, 10.

He ardently wished the suppression of *prebendaries*, “an estate which St. Paule, reckoning up the degrees and estates allowed in his time, could not find in the Church of Christ.” Burnet, iii. Append. p. 157, 158. All the protestant bishops and divines, in the reign of Edward VI. were anxious for the introduction of ecclesiastical discipline. Dr. Cox (Oct. 5, 1552,) complains bitterly of the opposition of the courtiers to this measure, and says, that if it should not be adopted, “the kingdom of God would be taken away from them.” Latimer’s Sermons, fol. cix. b. Lond. 1570. Strype’s Memor. of the Reform. ii. 366. Repository of Orig. p. 150.

Cranmer, with his colleagues, were far from being satisfied with the purity of the last common-prayer book of Edward, and he had drawn up one which is said to have been “an hundred times more perfect.” Troubles at Franckfort, p. 50. He and Ridley intended to procure an act for abolishing the sacerdotal habits; “for they only defended their lawfulness, but not their fitness.” Burnet’s Letters respecting Switzerland, &c. p. 52. Rotterdam, 1686. When Grindal was appointed to the bishopric of London, he “remained under some scruples of conscience about some things, especially the habits and certain ceremonies required to be used of such as were bishops. For the reformed in these times (says Strype) generally went upon the ground, that, in order to the complete freeing of the church of Christ from the errors and corruptions of Rome, every usage and custom practised by that apostate and idolatrous church should be abolished,—and that the service of God should be most simple, stript of all that shew, pomp, and appearance that had been customarily used before, esteeming all that to be no better than superstitious and antichristian.” Life of Grindal, p. 28. Horn and others had the same views and scruples. “By the letters (says Bishop Burnet) of which I read the originals [in the archives of Zurich] it appears that the bishops preserved the habits rather in complianee with the queen’s inclinations than out of any liking they had to them; so far were they from liking, that they plainly expressed their dislike of them.” Burnet’s Letters, ut supra, p. 51. Before they accepted the office they endeavoured to obtain the abrogation of the ceremonies; and when the act enjoining them passed, they were induced to comply chiefly by their fears that Papists or Lutherans would occupy their places. Strype’s Annals, i. 175. Burnet, ii. 376. Sermon on Psal. cxliv. 15, preached before the House of Commons, Jan. 1688. Cox writes to Bullinger 5 May, 1551. “I think all things in the church ought to be pure and simple, removed at the greatest distance from the pomps and

elements of the world. But in this our church what can I do in so low a station." Strype's *Memor. of the Reform.* ii. 305. Burnet, iii. 202. Jewel, in a letter to Martyr, Nov. 5, 1559, calls the clerical habits "a stage-dress" (*vestis scenica*), to which those alone were attached who "had nothing else to recommend them to the people, but a comical dress, stipites sine ingenio, sine doctrina, sine moribus, veste saltem comica volebant populo commendari." He engages that no exertions of his should be wanting to banish utterly these *ludicrous fooleries*, "*ludicris ineptiis*," and *relics of the Amorites*, as his correspondent (he says) had well designed them. And at a later period, (Feb. 8, 1566,) he wrote to Bullinger that he "wished that the very slightest footsteps of popery might be removed out of the church and minds of men; but the queen would at that time suffer no change in religion." Burnet, iii. Append. p. 291. ii. Append. p. 351. Strype's *Annals*; i. 174. Grindal and Horn wrote to Zurich that they did not approve of, but merely *suffered* kneeling in the eucharist, and signing with the cross in baptism, with other ceremonies, hoping that they would speedily obtain their abrogation. Burnet, ii. 310, 314. As to Parkhurst, bishop of Norwich, Pilkington of Durham, and Sands of Worcester, the non-conformists bear testimony that they discovered the greatest zeal in endeavouring to procure their abrogation. *Ibid.* iii. 316. The most respectable of the clergy in the lower house were of the same sentiments with the bishops on this subject. In the year 1562, the abrogation of the most offensive ceremonies was, after long reasoning, put to the vote in the convocation, and carried by a majority of those present, but, when the proxies were included, there was found a majority of one for retaining them. The arguments used by archbishop Parker's chaplains, to prevail upon the house to agree to this, derived their chief force from their being understood to be the sentiments of the queen. Burnet, ii. Append. p. 319, 320. Strype's *Annals*, i. 298—300.

From these facts, (and a collection much more ample could easily be made,) the reader will see who were the first puritans, and how very different the sentiments of the early English reformers were from those of their successors. Those good men who had the direction of ecclesiastical affairs in the reign of Edward VI. thought it most prudent to proceed gradually and slowly, in removing the abuses, and correcting the evils, which had overspread the church, to indulge the people for a season with those external forms to which they had been habituated, that they might draw them more easily from their superstitious



notions and practices, and in due time perfect the reformation to the satisfaction of all. The plan was plausible; but its issue was very different from what was intended by those who proposed it. This was not unforeseen by some who wished well to the church of England. After the bishops had resolved to rest satisfied with the establishment which they had obtained, and felt themselves disturbed by the complaints of the puritans (as they were afterwards called,) they endeavoured to engage the foreign divines on their side; and having, by partial representations, and through the respect entertained for the government of England, obtained letters from them somewhat favourable to their views, they employed these to bear down such as pleaded for a more pure reformation.\* But these divines had formerly delivered their unbiassed judgment, disapproving of such temporizing measures. Cranmer having signified to the Genevan Reformer, that he "could do nothing more profitable to the church than to write often to the king," Calvin wrote a letter to the archbishop in 1551, in which he lamented the procrastination used, and expressed his fears, that "a long winter would succeed to so many harvests spent in deliberation." Epist. p. 62. Oper. tom. ix. Strype's Cranmer, p. 413. Peter Martyr, in June 1550, expressed it as his opinion, that "the innumerable corruptions, infinite abuses, and immense superstition, could be reformed only by a simple recurrence to the pure fountain, and unadulterated original principles." The prudential advice, that as few changes as possible should be made, he called "a device of Satan to render the regress to popery more easy." Burnet, iii. Append. p. 200. Gualter, in a letter dated Jan. 16, 1559, says, that such advices, though "according to a carnal judgment full of modesty, and apparently conducive to the maintainance of concord," were to be ascribed to "the public enemy of man's salvation," and prophetically warned those who suffered abuses to remain and strengthen themselves in England, that "afterwards they would scarcely be able to eradicate them by all their efforts and struggles." Ibid. iii. 273. Append. p. 265. Fuller says, that the English Reformers "permitted ignorant people to retain some fond customs, that they might remove the most dangerous and destructive superstitions; as mothers, to get children to part with *knives*, are content to

\* Whitgift made great use of this weapon in his controversy with Cartwright. Bishop Parkhurst wrote to Gualter, a celebrated Swiss divine, cautioning him on this head, adding, that he had refused to communicate some of Gualter's letters to Whitgift; because, "if any thing made for the ceremonies, he presently clapped it into his book, and printed it." Strype's Annals, ii. 286, 287.

let them play with rattles." Very good: but if mothers suffer their children to play too long with rattles, they are in great danger of not parting with them all their days.

Note O. p. 85.

A plan of improvements in the English church, which Edward VI. drew with his own hand may be seen in Strype's *Memorials of the Reformation*, ii. 341—343. He was desirous of the establishment of ecclesiastical discipline, but sensible that the incumbent bishops were in general of such a description as to be unfit for its exercise. "Some for papistry (says he,) some for ignorance, some for their ill-name, some for all these, are men unable to execute discipline." Accordingly, he adds, "as for discipline, I would wish no authority given generally to all bishops; but that commission be given to those of the best sort of them to exercise it in their dioceses." *King Edward's Remains*, apud Burnet, ii. Records, p. 69.

Omitting other proofs of his intentions, I shall produce the decisive one of his conduct towards the foreign church settled in London under the inspection of John A. Lasco. *A. Lasco* was a Polish nobleman, who had forsaken his native country, from regard to the reformed religion. He enjoyed the friendship of Erasmus, who, in one of his letters, has passed a high eulogium upon him. "*Senex, juvenis convictu, factus sum melior, ac sobrietatum, temperantiam, verecundiam, linguæ moderationem, modestiam, prudentiam integritatem, quam juvenis a sene discere debuerat, a juvene senex didici.*" *Epist. lib. 28. ep. 3.* After remaining some time in Friesland, he left it on account of the disturbances produced by the Interim. In the year 1550, he came into England, with his congregation, at the request of Cranmer, and procured from the government a place of worship in London. He was of the sentiments of the Swiss church, and was unfriendly to the English ceremonies. Burnet, ii. 154. Notwithstanding of this, he was held in great esteem by the young king, who granted him letters patent, erecting him and the other ministers of the foreign congregation into a body corporate. The patent runs in these terms. "Edward, &c. We being specially induced, by great and weighty considerations, and particularly considering how much it becomes Christian princes to be animated with love and care of the sacred gospel of God, and apostolical religion, begun, instituted, and delivered by Christ himself, without which, policy and civil government can neither subsist long, nor maintain their reputation, unless princes and illustrious persons whom God hath appointed for the government of kingdoms do first of all take care,

that *pure and uncorrupted religion* be diffused through the whole body of the commonwealth, and that a church instituted in *truly Christian, and apostolical doctrines and rites*—be preserved, &c. with this intent and purpose, that there may be an uncorrupted interpretation of the holy gospel, and administration of the sacraments, according to the word of God, and apostolical observance by the ministers of the church of the Germans, &c. we command and strictly charge the mayor, &c. that they permit the said superintendent and ministers, freely and quietly, to enjoy, use, and exercise their own rites and ceremonies, and their own peculiar ecclesiastical discipline, notwithstanding that they do not agree with the rites and ceremonies used in our kingdom, &c.” The patent may be seen at large in Burnet, ii. Records, p. 202.

But the ulterior design which the king had in view, by the incorporation of this church, is what I have particularly in view. This is explicitly stated by A. Laseo in a book which he published anno 1555. In his dedication of it to Sigismund, king of Poland, he says: “When I was called by that king [Edward VI.] and when certain laws of the country stood in the way, so that the public rites of divine worship used under popery could not immediately be purged out (which the king himself desired;) and when I was earnest for the foreign churches, it was at length his pleasure, that the public rites of the English churches should be reformed by degrees, as far as could be got done by the laws of the country; but that strangers, who were not strictly bound to these laws in this matter, should have churches granted unto them, in which they should freely regulate all things *wholly according to apostolical doctrine and practice*, without any regard to the rites of the country; that by this means the *English churches also might be excited to embrace the apostolical purity*, by the unanimous consent of all the states of the kingdom. Of this project, *the king himself*, from his great piety, was both the *chief author* and the *defender*. For although it was almost universally acceptable to the king’s council, and the archbishop of Canterbury promoted it with all his might, there were not wanting some who took it ill, and would have opposed it, had not his majesty checked them by his authority and the reasons which he adduced for the design.” Again, in the Appendix to the same book, p. 649, he says; “The care of our church was committed to us chiefly with this view, that in the ministration thereof, we should follow the rule of the divine word and apostolical observance, rather than any rites of other churches. In fine, we were admonished both by the king himself, and his chief nobility, to use this great liberty granted to us in our ministry, rightly and faithfully, not to please men but



for the glory of God. by promoting the reformation of his worship.<sup>r</sup> The following are the original words of the author: "Cum ego quoque per Regem illum vocatus essem: et leges quædam patriæ obstarent, quominus publici potissimum cultus divini ritus sub papismo usurpati (pro eo ac rex ipse cupiebat) repurgari portinus possunt. Ego vero pro peregrinorum ecclesiis sedulo instarem, ita demum placuit, ut ritus publici in Anglicis Ecclesiis, per gradus quosdam (quantum per leges patrias omnino liceret) repurgarentur: Peregrinis vero hominibus (qui patriis hac alioqui in parte legibus non usque adeo tenerentur) ecclesiæ concederentur in quibus omnia libere, et nulla rituum patriorum habita ratione (juxta doctrinam duntaxit atque observationem apostolicam) instituerentur, ita enim fore, ut Anglicæ quoque ecclesiæ ad puritatem apostolicam amplectendam unanimi omnium regni ordinum consensu excitarentur. Ejus vero consilii rex ipsemet (pro sua pietate) præcipuus non autor tantum, sed etiam propugnator fuit. Etsi enim id in senatu regio omnibus propemo dum placeret, ipseque Cantuariensis archiepiscopus rem omnibus modis promoveret; non deerant tamen qui id moleste ferrent, adeoque et reluctaturi fuerint huic instituto regio, nisi rex ipse, non tantum autoritate sua restitisset: sed productis etiam instituti hujus rationibus conatus eorum repressisset." De Ordinatione Ecclesiarum peregrinarum in Anglia. Dedie. et p. 649. Larger extracts from this work may be seen in Voetii Politic. Eccles. tom. i. 420—422.

Note P. p. 87.

The following account of the freedom used by the chaplains of Edward VI. in reproving the vices of the courtiers, is given by Knox, in his "Letter to the Faithful in London, &c." I quote from the MS.

"How boldlie thair synes wer rebukeit, evin in thair faces, suche as wer present can witnes with me. Almost their wes none that occupyit the place [pulpit] but hie did prophesie, and planelie speak the plaguis that ar begun, and assuredlie sall end: Mr. Grindall planelie spak the deth of the kingis majestie, complaynyng on his houshold servandis and officeris who nether eschameit nor feirit to raill aganis Goddis trew word, and aganis the preachers of the same. The godlie and fervent man, maister Lever, plainlie spak the desolatioun of the common weill, and the plaguis whilk suld follow schortlie. Maister Bradforde (whom God, for Chryst his Sone's sake, comfort to the end) spared not the proudest; but boldlie declairit that Godis vengeance suld schortlie stryke thame that than wer n autoritie, becaus thay abhorrit and lothed

the trew word of the everlasting God. And amangis many uther willet thame to tak axampill be the lait duck of Somerset, who became so cald in hering Godis word, that the yeir befor his last apprehensioun, hie wald ga visit his masonis, and wald not dinglye\* himself to ga from his gallerie to his hall for hering of a sermone. God punnissit him (said the godlie preacher) and that suddanlie; and sall hie spair you that be dowbill mair wickit? No: hie sall not.† Will ye, or will ye not, ye sall drink the cupe of the Lordis wreith. *Judicium domini! judicium domini!* the judgement of the Lord! the judgement of the Lord! lamentabillie cryit he, with weipping teiris. Maister Hadden most learnedlie opiunit the caussis of the bypast plagis, affirming that the wors wer to follow, unles repentance suld schortlie be found. Thir things, and mekil mair I hard planelie spokin, efter that the haill consale had said thay wald heir no mo of thair sermonis; thay wer but indifferent followis; ye, and sum of thame eschameit not to call thame prattin knaves. But now will I not speik all that I knaw, for yf God continew my lyfe in this trubill, I intend to prepar ane disehe for such as than led the ring in the gossell: but now thay haif bene at the seule of *Placebo*, and amangis laddis [ladies] hes learnit to dance, as the devill list to pype!" p. 120, 121.

With Knox's representation agrees exactly the affecting "Lamentation for the change of religion in England," composed in prison by Bishop Ridley, in which he names our countryman along with Latimer, Lever, and Bradford, as distinguishing themselves by the faithfulness and boldness with which they censured the vices which reigned at court. I would willingly make extracts from it, but must refer the reader to the paper itself, which they will find inserted at large in the account of the bishop's trial and martyrdom, in Fox, p. 1614—1620. Edit. Anno 1596.

Grindal was an exile during the reign of Mary, and, under Elizabeth was made successively bishop of London, archbishop of York, and archbishop of Canterbury. Thomas Lever was a very learned man, and Master of St. John's college, Cambridge. He was Knox's colleague at Frankfort. Upon the accession of Elizabeth, he was admitted to a prebend in the cathedral of Durham, but was afterwards deprived of it on account of non-conformity. He seems to have been allowed to preach through the country, and, in 1577, died Master of Sherburn Hospital. Some of his ser-

\* In the printed copies it is "disease himself"

† The P. C. are unintelligible here.

mons are in print. Troubles of Franckford, p. 13, 28. Strype's Parker, p. 212. App. 77. Grindal 170. Annals iii. 512—514. Hutchinson's Durham ii. 594. John Bradford was in prison when Knox wrote the above account of him, and was martyred under Queen Mary. James Haddon had been a chaplain to the Duke of Suffolk, and went to Strashburgh at the death of Edward VI. He was chosen, along with Knox, to be one of the ministers of the English church at Frankfort, but declined to accept the office. Troubles, &c. 13, 16, 23. Strype's Annals, ii. App. p. 46.

Note Q. p. 90.

The *confession or prayer*, composed and used by Knox, after the death of Edward VI. and the accession of Mary, shews the state of his mind at that crisis, and refutes the unfounded charges of the popish, and of some episcopal writers, that he was guilty of rebellious practices against the queen. I extract it from his *Treatise on Prayer*, printed in 1554, which is now exceedingly rare.

“ Omnipotent and everlasting God, father of our Lorde Jesus Chryste, who, be thy eternal providence, disposeth kingdoms as best seemeth to thy wisdom, we acknowledge and confesse thy judgmentis to be righteous, in that thou hast taken from us, for our ingratitude, and for abusinge of thy most holy word, our native king, and earthly comforter. Justly may thou poure forth upon us the uttermoste of thy plagues; for that we have not knowen the dayes, and tymes of our merciful visitacion. We have contempned thy worde, and despised thy mercies. We have transgressed thy lawes: for deceitfully have we wrought everie man with our neighbours; oppression and violence we have not abhorred; charitie hath not appeared amongus, as our profession requireth. We have little regarded the voices of thy prophetes; thy threatnings we have esteemed vanitie and wynd: so that in us, as of ourselfis, restis nothing worthy of thy mercies. For all are found frutless, even the princes with the prophetes as withered trees apt and mete too be burnt in the fyre of thy eternal displeasure. But, O Lord, behold thy own mercy and goodness, that thou may purdge and remove the most filthy burden of oure most horrible offences. Let thy love overcome the severitie of thy judgementis, even as it did in geving to the world thy onely Sonne Jesus, when all mankynde was lost, and no obedience was lefte in Adam nor in his sede. Regenerate our hartes, O Lord, by the strength of the Holy Ghost. Convert thou us, and we shall be converted. Work thou in us unfeigned repentance, and move thou our hartes too obey thy holy lawes. Behold our troubles and apparent destruc-



tion; and stay the sword of thy vengeance, before it devoure us. Place above us, O Lord, for thy great mercies' sake, such a head, with such rulers and magistrates, as feareth thy name, and willesh the glory of Christ Jesus to spread. Take not from us the light of thy evangely, and suffer thou no papistrie to prevail in this realme. Illuminate the harte of our soveraigne lady quene Marie, with prignant gifts of thy Holy Ghoste. And inflame the hartes of her counsayl with thy trew fear and love. Represse thou the pryde of those that wolde rebelle. And remove from all hartes the contempte of the worde. Let not our enemies rejoyce at our destruction; but loke thou too the honor of thy own name, O Lorde, and let thy gospell be preached with boldenes, in this realme. If thy justice must punish, then punish our bodies with the rodde of thy mercy. But, O Lord, let us never revolte nor turne back to idolatrie agayne. Mytigate the hartes of those that persecute us, and let us not faynte under the crosse of our Saviour; but assist us with the Holy Ghoste, even to the end."

Note R. p. 102.

After illustrating the obligations which lay upon Christians to abstain from giving any countenance to an idolatrous worship, the plagues which they would escape, and the benefits which they would secure to themselves and their posterity, by adhering to the true religion, he thus addresses the protestants of England.

"Allace! sall we, after so many graces that God has offerit in our dayis, for pleasure, or for vane threatnyng of theme whome our hart knoweth, and our mouthes have confessit, to be odious idolateris, altogidder without resistance turne back to our vomit and dampnabill ydolatrie, to the perdition of us and our posteritie? O horribill to be hard! Sall Godis halie preceptis wirk no greater obedience in ws? Sall nature no otherwayis molifie our hartis? Sall not fatherlie pitie overeum this cruelties? I speik to you, O naturall fatheris. Behold your children with the eie of mercie, and consider the end of thair creatioun. Crueltie it wer to saif yourselves, and damp thame. But, O! more than crueltie, and madnes that can not be expressit, gif for the pleasure of a moment, ye depryve yourselves and your posteritie of that eternal joy that is ordanit for thame that continewis in confessioun of Christis name to the end. Gif natural lufe, fatherlie affection, reverence of God, feir of torment, or yit hoip of lyfe, move you, then will ye gauestand that abominabil ydol. Whilk gif ye do not, then, allace! the sone is gone down, and the lyht

is quite lost, the trompet is ceissit, and ydolatrie is placeit in quietnes and rest. But gif God sall strenthin you (as unfainedlie I pray that his majestie may) then is their but ane dark clude overspred the sone for ane moment, whilk schortlie sall vanische, sa that the beames efter salbe sevin fald mair bryht and amiable nor thay wer befoir. Your patience and constancie salbe a louder trompet to your posteritie, than wer the voces of the prophetis that instructit you; and so is not the trompit ceissit sa lang as any baldlie resisteth ydolatrie. And, thairfoir, for the tender mercies of God, arme yourselves to stand with Christ in this his schorte battell.

“Lat it be knawin to your posteritie that ye wer Christianis, and no ydolateris; that ye learnit Chryst in tyme of rest, and baldlie professit him in tyme of trubill. The preceptis, think ye, ar sharpe and hard to be observit; and yet agane I affirme, that compareit with the plagis that sall assuredlie fall upon obstinat ydolateris, thay salbe fund easie and lycht. For avoyding of ydolatrie ye may perchance be compellit to leive your native contrie and realme; but obeyeris of ydolatrie without end salbe compellit to burne in hell. For avoyding idolatrie your substance salbe spoillit; but for obeying ydolatrie heavenlie ryches salbe lost. For avoyding of ydolatrie ye may fall in the handis of earthly tyrants; but obeyeris manteaneris, and consentaris to ydolatrie sall not eschaip the handis of the liveing God. For avoyding of ydolatrie your children salbe depryvit of father, friendis, ryches and of rest; but be obeying ydolatrie thay salbe left without God, without the knowledge of his word, and without hoip of his kingdome. Consider, deir brethrene, that how meikill mair dolorous and feirfull it is to be tormentit in hell than to suffer trubill in erth; to be depryvit of heavenlie joy, than to be rubbit of transitorie ryches; to fall in the handis of the liveing God, than to obey manis vane and uncertain displeasure; to leif oure childrene destitute of God, than to leif thame unprovdyt befoir the world;—sa mekill mair fearful it is to obey ydolatrie, or by dissembling to consent to the same, than by avoyding and flying from the abominatioun, to suffer what inconvenients may follow theirupon.

“Ye feir corporall deth. Gif nature admittit any man to live ever, then had your feire sum aperance of reasone. But gif corporall deth be common to all, why will ye jeopardde to lois eternall lyfe, to eschaip that which nether ryeche nor pure, nether wyse nor ignorant, proud of stomoke nor febill of eorage, and finally, no earthlie creature, be no craft nor ingyne of man, did ever avoid. Gif any eschaipit the ugle face and horribell feir

of deth, it was thay that baldlie confessit Chryst befoir men.— Why aucht the way of lyfe [to] to be feirfull, be reasone of any pane, considering that a great number of our brethrene has past befoir ws, be lyke dangeris as we feir? A stout and prudent marinell, in tyme of tempest, seeing but one or two schippis, or like weschells to his, pas througout any danger, and to win a surharborie, will have gud esperance, be the lyke wind, to do the same. Allace! sall ye be mair feirful to win lyfe eternall, than the natural man is to save the corporall lyfe? Hes not the maist part of the sanctis of God from the begynning enterit into thair rest, be torment and trubillis? And yet what complayntis find we in thair mouthis, except it be the lamenting of thair persecutoris? Did God comfort thame? and sall his Majestie despise us, gif, in fichting aganst iniquitie we will follow thair futstepis? He will not." *Letter to the Faythfull in Londoun, &c.* apud MS. Letters, p. 147—151, 156.

Note. S. p. 120.

*Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?*

Knox was accused by the English exiles of High Treason, because he charged queen Mary with cruelty, and said that the emperor was as great an enemy to Christ as Nero. But his accusers, it might easily be shewed, used stronger language on this subject than ever he did. Mr. Strype informs us that the protestants who felt and outlived the persecution of Mary used the very worst epithets in speaking of her character. Memorials of the Reform. iii. 472. We need no other proof of this than the Oration composed by John Hales, and pronounced by a nobleman before queen Elizabeth, at her entrance upon the government. Speaking of the late persecution, the orator says: "O cruelty! cruelty! far exceeding all crueltys committed by those ancient and famous tyrants, and cruel murderers, Pharaoh, Herod, Caligula, Nero, Domitian, Maximine, Dioclesian, Decius; whose names for their cruel persecution of the people of God, and their own tyranny practised on the people, have been, be, and ever shall be in perpetual hatred, and their souls in continual torments in hell." The late queen he calls "*Athalia, malicious Mary, unnatural woman; no, no woman, but a monster, and the Devil of hell, covered with the shape of a woman.*" See works of the Rev. Samuel Johnson, p. 144.

Nor did they speak in more civil terms of foreign princes. Take, for an example, the invective of Aylmer against the French



king, Henry II. "Is he a king or a devil, a Christian or a Lucifer, that bi his cursed confederacie so encourageth the Turke?—Oh! wicked catife and firebrand of hell, which for th' increasing of his pompe and vayn glory (which he shall not long enjoy) wil betray Christ and his cross, to his mortal enemy. Oh foolish Germans! which see not their own undoing, which conspire not together with the rest of the Christian princes to pull such a traytour to God, and his kingdom, by the eares out of Fraunce, and hang him against the sonne a drying. The devill hath none other of his sede now but him, to maintaine both the spiritual and the temporall antichryste, the Pope and the Turke. Wherefore seeing he hath forsaken God, lyke an apostata, and sold himself to the Devell, let us not doubt but God will be with us against him, whensoever he shall seek to wrong us; and I trust he will now in the latter age of the worlde shew his myght in cuttynge of this proude Holofernes' head, by the handes of our Judith. Oh! blessed is that man that loseth his lyfe against such a Termagaunt; yea more blessed shall they be that spend their lyves against him than against his great maister the Turke: for the Turke never understode the crosse of Christ; but this turkish apostata is named a devellis name, *Christianissimus*, and is in the very heart of Christendome, and lyke a traiterous Saracene is Christ's enemy." Harborowe for Faithfull Subjects, Q. 1. Anno 1559.

I do not find Collier, nor other high-church historians quoting or commenting upon such language. On the contrary Aylmer is praised for his *handsome pen*, while every opportunity is taken to inveigh against the virulence of our Reformer. It may be safely said that he has not any where indulged in language so intemperate as what is quoted above.

Note T. p. 164.

The view which Aylmer has given of the English constitution is very different from that which a celebrated historian of England laboured to establish, by dwelling upon some arbitrary measures of the house of Tudor. As this work is seldom consulted, I may be excused for inserting here an extract from it on this subject. It will be seen that he carefully distinguishes between the principles of the constitution, and those proceedings which were at variance with them. "But if this be utterly taken from them [women] in this place what maketh it against their government in a politike weale, where neither the woman nor the mau ruleth (if there be no tyrants but the laws. For, as Plato saith.

*Illi civitati paratum est exitium ubi magistratus legibus imperat, et non leges magistratui* : That city is at the pit's brinke, wherein the magistrate ruleth the lawes, and not the lawes the magistrate." And a little afterwards: "Well; a woman may not reigne in Englande. Better in Englande, than any where, as it shall wel appere to him that, with out affection, will consider the kind of regimen. Whyle I confer ours with other (as it is in it-selfe, and not maimed by usurpacion) I can find none either so good or so indifferent. The regemente of Englande is not a mere monarchie as some for lacke of consideracion thinke, ner a mere Oligarchie or Democracie, but a rule mixed of all these, wherein ech one of these have or should have like authoritie. The image whereof, and not the image, but the thinge in dede is to be sene in the parliament hous, wherein you shall find these three estats; the King or Quene which representeth the Monarchie, the Noblemen which be the Aristocratie, and the Burgesses and Knights the Democratie.—If the parliament use their privileges, the king can ordain nothing without them: If he do, it is his fault in usurping it, and their fault in permitting it. Wherefore, in my judgement, those that in king Henry the VIII's daies would not graunt him that his proclamations should have the force of a statute, were good fathers of the countrie, and worthy commendacion in defending their liberty. Wold God that that court of late daies had feared no more the feareness of a woman, than they did the displeasure of such a man. Then should they not have stouped, contrary to their othes and alledgeaunce to the crowne, against the privilege of that house, upon their marye bones to receive the Devil's blessenge brought unto them by Satan's apostle, the cardinal. God forgeve him for the doing, and them for obeying! But to what purpose is all this? To declare that it is not in England so daungerous a matter to have a woman ruler, as men take it to be.—If on thother part, the regement were such as all hanged upon the king's or quene's wil, and not upon the lawes written; if she might decre and make lawes alone, without her senate; if she judged offences according to her wisdom, and not by limitation of statutes and laws; if she might dispose alone of war and peace, if, to be short, she wer a mer monarch, and not a mixed ruler, you might peradventure make me to fear the matter the more, and the less to defend the cause." Harborowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjects. II. 2 & 3:

Note U. p. 166.

"Our countryman, John Knox, has been much censured for want of civility and politeness to the fair sex; and particularly

for sounding a first and second "blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women." He was indeed no milk-sop courtier, who can sacrifice the public weal to the punctilios of politeness, or consider the interests of nations as a point of gallantry. His reasons for the abolition of all female government, if they are not entirely convincing, may be allowed at least to be specious; and might well be indulged as a harmless speculative opinion in one who was disposed as he was to make no bad use of it in practice, and to give all dutiful respect to whomsoever the will of God and the commonwealth had assigned the sovereign power. But though the point may be conceded in regard to secular government, in ordering of which the constitutions and customs and mere pleasure of communities may be allowed to establish what is not morally evil; it will not follow that the essential order and positive law of the spiritual kingdom may also be sported with and subverted.—Let the English, if they please, admit a weak, fickle, freakish, bigotted, gallantish or imperious woman, to sway the sceptre of political dominion over millions of men, and and even over her own husband in the croud, to whom at the altar she had previously vowed obedience, they shall meet with no opposition from the presbyterians; provided, they do not also authorize her to lord it, or lady it, over their faith and consciences, as well as over their bodies, goods and chattels.

"By the laws of the Romish church, no female can be admitted to a participation of clerical power. Not so much as the ancient order of deaconesses now remain in her. Her casuists have examined and debated this thesis, Whether a woman may have the degree of Doctor of Divinity conferred upon her; and have determined it in the negative.\* But of the philosophical dignity they are not quite so jealous. Helen Lucrecia Piscopia Cornaca, of famous memory, once applied for her degree in divinity in an Italian university; but Cardinal Barbarigo, bishop of Padua, was far from being disposed to grant it; so that this learned lady was obliged to content herself with a doctorate in philosophy, which, with universal applause was actually conferred upon her, June 25, 1678.† But the English climate savours nothing of this Italian jealousy; nor are the divines in it so niggardly of their honours. We do not hear indeed that they have formally matriculated any ladies, in the universities, or obliged them by canon, or act of parliament, to take out degrees, either in law,

\* Carol. Rinaldinij. *Math. Analit. art. pars. Stin*

† *Nouvell. de la Républ. de Lett.* 1685



in law, in philosophy or divinity, to qualify them for ecclesiastical preferment (even the highest pinnacle of it;) though their laws hold males utterly unqualified for holding any lucrative place in the church, or in ecclesiastic courts, without these: Nor can a man be admitted to the lowest curacy, or be fellow or student in an university, until he have learned and digested all the articles, homilies, canons, rubrics, modes and figures of the church of England, as he cannot even be serjeant or exciseman, till he understand perfectly the superior devotion of kneeling above sitting. But it is very possible, though they do not bear the learned titles, the ladies may know as much of learning and divinity, as those who do. And though they may not receive ordination on Ember-week for the inferior orders, yet it is enacted and provided, that one of their number may be raised at once *per saltum* not only above all the peers and peeresses, but over all the graduates, reverend dignitaries, and mitred heads in the kingdom. The solemn inaugurating unction once applied, then *Cedite Romani Doctores, cedite Graij*. Hence forward, as the queen of Sheba from the uttermost end of the earth, to hear the wisdom of Solomon, and to have every enigma and hard question solved, so must every master, doctor, heads of universities, every diocesan and metropolitan, however wise, have recourse to their queen, by reference or appeal, with every difficult question, and every learned and deep controversy, and be responsible to her for their every decision. How flattering a constitution this to woman-kind—if they be indeed so very fond of precedence and rule, as is commonly said! She must have an unreasonable and unbounded ambition indeed whom this will not content; though she should not be also further told in plain terms, that she is a goddess, and in her office superior to Christ; as some court-clergymen have ventured to affirm of their visible head.” *A Historico-Politico-Ecclesiastical Dissertation on the Supremacy of Civil Powers in Matters of Religion, particularly the Ecclesiastical Supremacy annexed to the English Crown; By Archibald Bruce, p. 46, 47, 49, 50. Edinburgh, 1802.*

Note V.\* p. 170.

In the text I have confined myself to a summary statement of the measures pursued by the protestant leaders at that time. I shall here add a few particulars. Their petition to the regent, presented by Sir James Sandilands of Calder, contained five requests. 1. That they should be allowed to assemble, either pub-

\* In the reference, p. 170. the letter *Y* is put by mistake instead of *V*.

liely or privately, to read the scriptures and the common prayers in the vulgar tongue. 2. That it should be lawful for "any qualified person in knowledge" to expound any difficult place of scripture which occurred in the course of reading, subject to the judgment of the most learned and godly men in the kingdom. 3. That baptism should be administered in the vulgar language. 4. That the Lord's supper should be administered in the same manner, and in both kinds. 5. That the scandalous lives of the clergy should be reformed, according to the precepts of the New Testament, the writings of the fathers, and the godly constitutions of Justinian.—Historians differ as to the time at which this petition was presented. I am inclined (after examining the different statements) to prefer the account given by Knox, who expressly asserts that it was presented before the martyrdom of Walter Milne. He had the best opportunity of ascertaining the fact. This was the part of his History which was first written by him, soon after his arrival in Scotland, when the transaction must have been fresh in the recollection of all his associates. There is no reference to this illegal execution in the petition, which would scarcely have been omitted if it had previously taken place. The objection urged by Keith, from the clause in the petition which supposes that the queen was married, does not appear to have great strength. The parliament, in December 1557, had agreed to the solemnization of the marriage, their commissioners had sailed for France in February, to be present at the ceremony, which was appointed to take place on the 24th of April. In these circumstances the protestants might, without any impropriety, request that they might be allowed liberty to use the common prayers in the vulgar tongue, to the end that they might "be induced in fervent and oft prayers to comend unto God—the queen our soverane, hir honorable and gracious husband," &c. Keith is wrong when he says that Knox has fixed the execution of Milne "to the 8th of April, which was above two weeks before the queen's marriage." History, p. 80, note. Knox says he was put to death "the twentieth day of Aprylle," which was four days after the marriage. History, p. 122.

After the martyrdom of Milne, the protestant leaders renewed their application to the regent, with a heavy complaint against the cruelty of the clergy. Partly encouraged by the regent's answer to their petitions, and partly from irritation at the conduct of the archbishop of St. Andrews, they used the liberty of worship for which they had petitioned. The new petition which they prepared for the parliament, in November 1558, related to the penalties unto which they were subjected by the existing laws, and

the prosecutions which might be raised against them by the clergy. And the protestation which they actually prescribed to that assembly was intended to exonerate them from all blame and responsibility, in using their Christian liberty, after they had regularly craved the reformation of manifest abuses.

But there was a measure adopted by them previous to either of these applications to the queen and parliament. Immediately after subscribing the bond on the 3d of Dec. 1557, it was agreed in a meeting of the protestant lords and barons : 1. That in all parishes of the realm the common prayers should be read weekly on Sunday and other festival days, publicly in the parish kirks, with the lessons of the Old and New Testament, conform to the order of the book of common prayers. 2. That preaching should be confined to private houses, until they could obtain it in public with the consent of the government. Knox, *Historie*, p. 101. The first of these heads is said to have been “thocht expedient, devyisit and ordainit.” This has been viewed by some as an assumption of authority over the whole kingdom, in the way of setting aside the established worship and substituting a new one; and it must be confessed, that the words at first view seem to suggest this idea. Yet the supposition is irreconcilable with the situation in which they were placed at that time, and the language which they afterwards used, in which they declare, that as to “public reformation” they “would attempt nothing without the knowledge of the sacred authority.” p. 118. I therefore understand it merely as an agreement among themselves, expressive of their opinion as to what individuals of their number might lawfully do in the respective places where they resided and had influence. And when we consider the total neglect of worship in many places of the kingdom, and the general ignorance that prevailed, it was certainly a very moderate and reasonable measure to provide that the scriptures and common prayers should be read to the people in their mother tongue.

It is natural to inquire here what is meant by “the book of commoun prayeris” which was appointed to be read. Was it the common prayer-book of Edward VI. ? or was it a different one ? This subject was keenly contested between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians in Scotland, about the beginning of last century. Mr. Anderson, the most acute opponent of the Episcopalians, at that period, has canvassed this question very minutely, and in opposition to the author of the Fundamental Charter of presbytery, has adduced a number of strong arguments to prove that it was not the liturgy of Edward VI. but the liturgy of the English



church at Geneva, of which Knox was minister. The Countryman's Letter to the Curat, p. 65—77. printed in 1741. I shall state a few facts, without entering into reasoning. Mr. Anderson says that he had in his possession a copy, in Latin, of the liturgy used in the English church at Frankfort, the preface of which bears date the 1st of September, 1554. He adds that it had been translated from English into Latin; and that the prayers in it are exactly the same with those which are found in the Book of Common Order; only there are some additional prayers in the latter relating to the circumstances of Scotland. Ibid. p. 64. This must have been the form of worship agreed to by the exiles immediately after their arrival at Frankfort. Troubles of Franckford, p. 7. Before the end of that year, the form of worship observed by the Genevan church was printed in English. Ibid. p. 27. In the beginning of the following year, the form afterwards used by the English church at Geneva was composed, which differed very little from that which was first used at Frankfort. Ibid. p. 37. This was printed in the beginning of 1556. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 401. It is very likely that Knox, in his visit to Scotland in 1555, would carry with him copies of the two former liturgies, and that he would send copies of the latter, upon his return to Geneva. After all, I think it extremely probable, that copies of the liturgy of Edward VI. were still more numerous in Scotland at this time, and that they were used by some of the protestants at the beginning of the Reformation. This appears from a letter of Cecil to Throckmorton, 9th July, 1559. "The protestants be at Edynborough. They offer no violence, but dissolve religiose howsees: directyng the lands thereof to the crowne, and to ministry in the chirch. The parish churches they delyver of altars and imagees, and have received the service of the church of England, accordyng to King Edward's booke." Forbes's State Papers, i. 155. Another thing which inclines me to think that the English liturgy was in the eye of those who made the agreement in Dec. 1557 is, that they mention the reading of "the lessonis of the New and Auld Testament, conforme to the ordour of the Baik of Commoun-Prayeris." The reply which Anderson gives to this does not appear to me satisfactory. At the same time, it is certain that the order of the English church at Geneva was used in Scotland previous to the time of its being formally authorised by the Book of Discipline in 1560. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 520.

But though the Scottish protestants, at this time, made use of the prayers and scripture-lessons contained in the English liturgy, it cannot be inferred from this, that they approved it without limita-

tions, or that they meant to bind themselves to all its forms and ceremonies. The contrary is evident. It appoints lessons to be read from the apocrypha; but they expressly confined their reading to "the lessons of the New and Old Testament." A great part of the English liturgy can be read by a priest only; but all that they proposed to use could be performed by "the most qualifeit in the parochin," provided the curate refused or was unqualified. I need scarcely add, that if they had adopted that liturgy, the invitation which they gave to Knox must have come with a very bad grace. According to Anderson's language it must have been to this purpose, "Pray, good Mr. Knox, come over and help us; and for your encouragement against you come, you shall find the English liturgy, against which you preached in Scotland, against which you declared before the counsel of England, for opposing which you were brought in danger of your neck at Frauncfort; this English liturgy you shall find the authorised form of worship, and that by an ordinance of *our* making." If any other evidence of this were necessary, I might produce the testimony of Sir Francis Knollys, the English ambassador. When queen Mary fled into England in 1568, she feigned her willingness to give up the mass and adopt the English common prayer book, provided Elizabeth would assist her in regaining her crown. Lord Herries having made this proposal in her name, Sir Francis replied "that yf he meant thereby to condempne the form and order of common prayer now used in Skotland, agreeable with divers well reformed churches,—or that he meant to expell all the learned preachers of Skotland, yff they wold not return back to receave and wayr cornered capes and typpets, with surpluss and coopes, which they have left by order *continually since their first receavyng of the gospel into that realme*; then he myght so fyght for the shadow and image of religion that he myght bring the body and truth in danger." Anderson's Collections, vol. iv. part i. p. 110, 111.

As this subject has been introduced, I may make an observation or two respecting the form of prayers used in the church of Scotland at the beginning of the reformation. What has been called *Knox's Liturgy*, was the *Book of Common Order*, first used by the English church at Geneva. It contains forms of prayer for the different parts of public worship; and this is the only resemblance which it bears to the English liturgy. But there is this important difference between the two: in the latter, the minister is restricted to the repetition of the very words of the prayers; in the former he is left at liberty to vary from them, and to substitute prayers of his own in their room. The following quotations

will exemplify the mode. "When the congregation is assembled at the houre appointed, the minister useth one of these two confessions, *or like in effect*."—"The minister after the sermon useth this prayer following, *or such like*." Similar declarations are prefixed to the prayers to be used at the celebration of baptism and the Lord's Supper. And at the end of the account of the public service of the Sabbath is this intimation; "It shall not be necessarie for the minister daylie to repeat all these things before mentioned, but beginning with *some* manner of confession to proceed to the sermon, which ended, he either useth the prayer for all estates before mentioned, or else prayeth as the Spirit of God shall move his heart, framing the same according to the time and matter which he hath intreated of." Knox's Liturgy, p. 74, 83, 86, 120. Edin. 1611. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 417, 421, 426, 443, 450. At the end of the *Form of Excommunication*, it is signified, "This order may be enlarged or contracted as the wisdom of the discreet minister shall think expedient; for we rather shew the way to the ignorant, then prescribe order to the learned, that cannot be amended." Dunlop, ii. 746. The Scottish prayers, therefore, were intended as a help to the ignorant, not as a restraint upon those who could pray without a set form. The readers and exhorters commonly used them; but even they were encouraged to perform the service in a different manner. Knox's Liturgy, ut supra, p. 189. Dunlop, ii. 694.

Note W. p. 178.

I am sensible that my account of the conduct of the queen regent to the protestants, differs from that which has been given by Dr. Robertson in his history of this period. He imputes her change of measures entirely to the over-ruling influence of her brothers, and seems to acquit her of insincerity in the countenance which she had shewed, and the promises which she had repeatedly made, to the protestant leaders. In any remarks which I shall make upon his account, I wish to be understood as not detracting in the slightest degree from the merit of his able, accurate, and luminous statement of the plans conceived by the princes of Lorraine. Having mentioned the first symptoms of the regent's alienation from the reformers, Dr. Robertson says: "In order to account for this, our historians do little more than produce the trite observations concerning the influence of prosperity to alter the character and corrupt the heart." I do not know the particular historians to whom he may refer, but those of the protestant persuasion whom I have consulted, impute her change



of conduct not to the above cause, but to the circumstance of her having accomplished the great objects which she had in view, upon which she no longer stood in need of the assistance of the reformers. Accordingly, they charge her with duplicity in her former proceedings with them. Knox, 96, 110, 122, 125. Buchanan, i. 312. Spottiswood, 117, 119, 120. I think they had good reasons for this charge. At a very early period, she gave a striking proof of her disposition and talents for the most deep dissimulation. I refer to her behaviour in the intercourse which she had with Sir Ralph Sadler, in 1543, on which occasion she acted a part not less important than the cardinal himself, threw the ambassador into the greatest perplexity, and completely duped the English monarch. Sadler, i. 84—88, 100, 111—113, 249—253. The governor wanted not reason to say, “as she is both subtle and wily, so she hath a vengeable engine and wit to work her purpose.” It is impossible to read the account of her smooth conduct to the reformers, without perceiving the art with which she acted. There is also reason for thinking that she was privy to the execution of Walter Milne, and had encouraged the archbishop of St. Andrews to take that step. Indeed, in his letter to the Earl of Argyle, written a few weeks before that event, the archbishop expressly says that she murmured heavily against him, because he did not use severe measures to check the progress of heresy, and Argyle, in his answer, does not call this in question. Knox, 103, 108.

I do not doubt that the regent was precipitated into the most violent measures which she adopted by the counsels of her brothers; and that she remonstrated against the impolicy of these, is attested by Castelnau, to whom Dr. Robertson refers as one of his authorities. But I think that she had altered her conduct to the protestants, and declared her resolution to abet the measures of the clergy against them, previous to the time that she is said to have received these strong representations from France. This appears even from the narrative of Castelnau, who has connected the advice given by the princes of Lorraine with the mission of La Brosse and the bishop of Amiens, who did not arrive in Scotland until September, 1559, after the civil war was kindled. Lebb. ii. 446. Keith, 102. Sadler, i. 470. But it will be still more apparent from an examination of the testimony of Sir James Melvil, the other authority to whom Dr. Robertson appeals. He says that after the treaty of Chateau-Cambrensis was concluded, Bettancourt was sent into Scotland to procure the ratification of it from the queen regent; and that he was charged by the Cardinal of Lorraine, to inform her that the popish princes had agreed to join

in extirpating heresy, and to require that she should immediately take steps for suppressing the protestants in that country. Melvil adds, that these instructions, mixed with some threatenings, having been received, the queen regent “determined to follow them. She therefore issued out a proclamation *a little before Easter*, commanding every man great and small, to observe the Roman Catholic religion.” Melvil’s Memoirs, p. 23, 24. Lond. 1683. The proclamation to observe Easter in the Catholic manner is mentioned by all our historians as the decisive declaration of the queen’s change of measures. Now the treaty of Chateau-Cambrensis was not concluded until the 2d of April 1559. Forbes, i. 68, 81. But Easter fell that year on the 29th of March, six days before Bettancourt could undertake his journey to Scotland. The proclamation respecting the observance of that festival must have been emitted some weeks previous to this. Nay, we know from other evidence, that the breach between the queen regent and the protestants had taken place on the 6th of March; for this is the date from which the Oblivion afterwards granted is reckoned. Keith, 141, 151. There is, therefore, a glaring anachronism in Melvil’s narrative; and whatever influence Bettancourt’s embassy had in instigating the regent to more violent measures, she had previously taken her side, and declared her determination to oppose the progress of the Reformation.

There are several other mistakes which Sir James Melvil has committed in his narrative of the transactions of this period. Even in the account of the important embassy into Scotland, committed to him by Henry II. and of the speech which the constable Montmorency made to him on that occasion, he has introduced the constable, as mentioning, among his reasons, the shipwreck of the Marquis D’Elbeuf, which did not happen till some months after, when the French king was dead. Memoirs, ut supra, p. 31. Sadler, i. p. 417. In my humble opinion, all our historians have given too easy credit to Melvil, both in his statement of facts, and in his representation of characters.

Note X. p. 190.

“Truely, among all their deeds and devises, the easting doune of the churches was the most foolish and furious worke, the most shreud and execrable turne that ever *Hornok* himself could have done or devised. For out of al doubt that great grandfather of Calvine, and old enemie of mankind, not only inspired every one of those sacrelegious hellhounds with his flaming sprit of malice and blasphemie, as he did their forefathers Luther and Calvine: bot also was then present as *maister of worke*, busily beholding his

servands and hirelings working his wil and bringing to pass his long desired contentment.—They changed the churches (which God himself called his *house of prayer*) into filthie and abominable houses of sensual men, yea, and of unreasonable beasts; when as they made stables in Halyrud-hous, sheep-houses of S. Antone, and S. Leonards chapels, tolbooths of S. Gillis, &c. which this day may be seene, to the great griefe and sorrow of al good Christians, to the shame and confusion of Edinburg, and to the *everlasting damnation* of the doers thereof, the sedicious ministers, Knox and his complices.” After weeping over the ruins of “Abbirbroth,” the writer turns to St. Giles, and represents our Saviour as lamenting its profanation by the setting up of “the abomination of desolation” the courts of justice, within that holy ground, “How wold he say, if he were now entering in at S. Giles, and looking to bare wals, and pillars al cled with dust, sweepings and cobwebs, insted of painting and tapestrie; and on every side beholding the restlesse resorting of people treating of their worldly affaires, some writing and making of obligations, contracts and discharges, others laying countes or telling over sowmes of money, and two and two walking and talking to and fro, some about merchandise or the lawes, and too many, alas! about drinking and courting of woemen, yea and perhaps about worse nor I can imagine, as is wont to be done al the day long in the common Exchanges of London and Amst erdam and other great cities. And turning him farther towards the west end of the church, which is divided in a high house for the Colledge of Justice, called the *Session* or *Senat-house* and a lower house called the *low Tolbooth*, where the balives of the town use to sit and judge common actions and pleas in the one end thereof, and a number of harlots and scolds for flyting and whoredome, inclosed in the other: And these, I mean, if our Saviour were present to behold such abominable desolation, that where altars were erected and sacrifices, with continual praises and praiers, were wont to be offered up to the lord, in remembrance of that bloody sacrifice of Christ on the crosse, there now are holes for whores, and cages for scolds, where nothing is heard bot banning and swearing, and every one upbraiding another: O what grieve and sorrow wold our Lord tak at the beholding of such *profanation* and *sacrilege*!” *Father Alexander Baillie’s True Information of the unhallowed offspring, progress and impoison’d fruits of our Scottish-Calvinian Gospel and Gospellers.* p. 24, 25, 27, 28. Wurtsburg, 1628.



Note Y. p. 192.

It would be endless to enter into an examination of the exaggerated accounts which have been given of the "pitiful devastation" committed by the reformers. I shall content myself with stating a few facts, which may satisfy the candid and considerate that no such great blame is imputable to them. The demolition of the monasteries, with their dependencies, will be found to comprehend the sum of what can be justly charged against them. And yet again I would ask those who are most disposed to blame them for this, What other purpose could the allowing of these buildings to stand have served, if not to cherish the hopes and excite the desires of the Catholics, to regain possession of them? To what use could the reformers possibly have converted them? Is it to be supposed that they could form the idea of preserving them for the gratification of a race of antiquaries, who were to rise up in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? Have these gentlemen, with all their zeal, ever testified their regard for these sacred monuments, by associations and subscriptions to preserve the mouldering remains from going to their original dust? The reformed ministers had enough to do, in exciting the nobility and gentry to keep the parish churches in decent repair, without undertaking the additional task of supporting huge and useless fabrics. But enough of this.—Let not any distress themselves by supposing that the costly furniture of the monasteries and churches was all consumed by the flames. Fanatical as the reformers were, they "reservit the best part thair of unburnt," and converted it into money, some of which went into the public purse, but the greater part into the private pockets of the nobles. Winzet, apud Keith, Append. p. 245. The idols and images were indeed committed to the flames without mercy; but considering the example that their adversaries had set them of consigning *the living images of God* to this fate, the retaliation was certainly moderate; and that these were the only sacrifices which they offered up, we have the testimony of a popish writer. Leslæus, de reb. gest. Scotorum, lib. x. p. 537. edit. 1675.

The act of privy council for demolishing idolatrous houses did not extend to cathedrals or parish churches. Spottiswood, p. 174, 175. In the first Book of Discipline, indeed, cathedral churches, if not used as parish-churches, are mentioned among the places to be suppressed; but so far from this case occurring, it was found necessary to employ many of the chapels attached to monasteries, and collegiate churches, as places for the protestant worship. That in the first effervescence of popular zeal, some

of the cathedrals and other churches should have suffered, is not much to be wondered at. "What, you speak of Mr. Knox preaching for the pulling down of churches (says Mr. Baillie in his answer to bishop Maxwell) is like the rest of your lies.—I have not heard that in all our land above *three* or *four*e churches were cast down." Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland, p. 40. Lond. 1646. Mr. Baillie had the historical collections of Calderwood in his possession when he composed that work. The same thing is evident from the testimony of Cecil in the letter quoted above, (p. 446.) The churches were merely to be stripped of the monuments of idolatry and instruments of superstition; and in carrying this into effect, great care was taken that the buildings should not be injured. The lord James (afterwards earl of Murray) was the person to whom the execution of the act in the northern part of the kingdom was committed; and we have an authentic document of the manner in which he proceeded, in an order issued by him, and written with his own hand, for purging the cathedral church of Dunkeld. The following is an exact copy of that order.

"To our Traist friendis, the Lairds of Arntilly and Kinvaid.

"Traist friendis, after maist harty commendacion, we pray yow faill not to pass incontinent to the kyrk of Dunkeld, and tak down the haill images thereof, and bring furth to the kyrk-zayrd, and burn thaym oppinly. And sielyk cast down the altaris, and purge the kyrk of all kynd of monuments of idolatrye. And this ze faill not to do, as ze will do us singular empleseur; and so committis you to the protection of God. From Edinburgh, the xii. of August, 1560.

Faill not, bot ze tak guid heyd  
that neither the dasks, windocks,  
nor durris, be ony ways hurt  
or broken ————— eyther  
glassin wark or iron wark.

(Signed)

AR. ERGYLL.

JAMES STEWART.

RUTHVEN."\*

We may take it for granted that the same caution was used in other places. If it be asked, how it happened that the cathedrals and many other churches fell into such a ruined state, the following quotations may throw some light upon the subject. They are taken from a scarce work written by Robert Pont, Commissioner of Murray, and one of the Lords of Session. "Yet, a great many, not onely of the raskall sorte, but sundry men of name and worldly reputation, joyned themselves with the congregation of

\* Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xx. p. 422.

the reformers, not so much for zeale of religion, as to reape some earthly commoditie, and to be enriched by spoyle of the kirkes and abbey places. And when the preachers told them that such places of idolatrie should be pulled downe, they accepted gladly the enterprise; and rudely passing to worke, pulled down all, both idoles and places where they were found. Not making difference betweene these places of idolatrie, and many parish-kirks, where God's word shuld have bin preached in many parts where they resorted, as in such tumultes and suddainties useth to come to passe; namelye, among such a nation as we are."

"An other thing fell out at that time, which may be excused by reason of necessitie: when as the lordes, and some of the nobilitie, principall enterprysers, of the reformation, having to do with the Frenchmen, and many their assisters of our owne nation enemies to these proceedings, were forced, not onely to ingage their own landes, and bestowe whatsoever they were able to furnishe of their owne patrimonie, for maintenance of men of warre, and other charges, but also to take the lead and belles, with other jewelles and ornaments, of kirkes, abbayes, and other places of superstition, to employ the same, and the prises thereof, to resist the enemies. The most parte of the realme beand in their contrarie. This I say, cannot be altogether blamed." *Against Sacrilege, Three sermons preached by Maister Robert Pont, an aged Pastour in the Kirk of God. B. 6, 7. Edinburgh, 1599. Compare Keith, p. 468.*

But what shall we say of the immense loss which literature sustained on that occasion? "Bibliothecks destroyed, the volumes of the fathers, counsellis, and other books of humane learning, with the registers of the church, cast into the streets, afterwards gathered in heapes, and consumed with fire." Spottiswood's MS. apud Keith, p. 508. May not such conduct be justly equalled with the fanaticism of the Mahometan chieftain who deprived the world of the invaluable Alexandrine library?—As every one is apt to deplore the loss of that commodity upon which he sets the greatest value, I might feel more inclined to join in this lamentation, were I not fully convinced that the real loss was extremely trifling, and that it has been compensated ten thousand fold. Where, and of what kind were these bibliothecks? *Omne ignotum magnificum*. The public was long amused with the tale of a classic library at Iona, which promised a complete copy of Livy's works, not to be found in all the world beside; a miracle which Mr. Gibbon, in the abundance of his literary faith, seems to have been inclined to admit. Danes, and Reformers, and Re



publicans, were successively anathematized, and consigned to the shades of barbarism, for the destruction of what (for ought that appears) seems to have existed only in the brains of antiquarians. It has been common to say, that all the learning of the times was confined to monasteries. This was true at a certain period; but it had ceased to be the fact in the age in which the Reformation took place. Low as literature was in Scotland at the beginning of the 16th century, for the credit of my country I trust, that it was not in so poor a state in the universities as it was in the monasteries. Take the account of one who has bestowed much attention on the monastic antiquities of Scotland. “Monkish ambition terminated in acquiring skill in scholastic disputation. If any thing besides simple theology was read” [I greatly doubt if there is any good evidence of this being a practice at the period of which I speak] “it might consist of the legends of saints, who were pictured converting infidels, interceding for offenders, and over-reaching fiends; or of romances, recording the valour of some hardy adventurer, continually occupied in wars with Pagans, or in vanquishing giants, foiling necromancers, and combating dragons. Some were chronicles; and books of the laws might be transcribed or deposited with monks. Some might be conversant in medicine and the occult sciences.” Dalrymple’s *Cursory Remarks*, prefixed to *Scottish Poems*, i. 17, 18.

But we are not left to conjecture, or general inferences, as to the state of the monastic libraries. We have the catalogues of two libraries, the one of a monastery, the other of a collegiate church; which may be deemed fair specimens of the condition of the remainder in the respective ages to which they belonged. The former is the catalogue of the library of the Culdean monastery at Lochleven. It consisted of *seventeen* books, all of them necessarily in manuscript. Among these were a *pastorale*, *graduale*, and *missale*, books common to all monasteries, and without which their religious service could not be performed; the Text of the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles; an Exposition of Genesis; a Collection of Sentences; and an Interpretation of Sayings. The rest appear to have consisted of some of the writings of Prosper, and perhaps of Origen and Jerom. Jamieson’s *Historical Account of the ancient Culdees*, p. 376—8. It may be granted that this collection of books was by no means despicable in that age; but certainly it contained nothing the loss of which has been injurious to literature. I have no doubt that, if a copy of the Gospels, with the Lochleven seal, or superscription, (whether authentic or fictitious) were to occur, with antiquarians it would give as high

a price as a Polyglot ; but there can be as little question that one copy of the Greek Testament is of more real value. From the 12th to the 16th century, the monastic libraries did not improve. The catalogue of the library at Stirling exhibits the true state of learning at the beginning of the last mentioned period. It contained, indeed, a copy of the gospels and epistles in manuscript, most probably in Latin ; the remainder of its contents was purely monkish. There were four *missals*, two *psalters*, four *antiphonies*, three *breviaries*, two *legends*, four *graduals*, and ten *processionals*. Dalryell's *Fragments of Scottish History*, p. 77.

As far as I have observed, in the course of my reading, the monasteries did not possess more than perhaps an odd volume or two of the writings of the Fathers ; but whatever books of this kind were to be found in them the reformers would be anxious to preserve, not to destroy. The *chartularies* were the most valuable writings deposited in monasteries ; and many of these have been transmitted to us. The reformers were not disposed to consume these records, and we find them making use of them in their writings. Knox, *Historie*, p. 1, 2, 3. The mass-books were the most likely objects of their vengeance, and I have little doubt that a number of them were committed to the flames, in testimony of their abhorrence of the popish worship. Yet they were careful to preserve copies of them, which they produced in their disputes with the Roman Catholics. *Ibid.* p. 261.

But whatever literary ravages were committed, let them not be imputed exclusively to the tumultuary reformation of Scotland, to the fanaticism of our reformers, or the barbarous ignorance of our nobles. In England, the same proceedings took place to a far greater extent, and the loss must have been far greater. " Another misfortune (says Collier) consequent upon the suppression of the abbeys was an ignorant destruction of a great many valuable books.—The books, instead of being removed to royal libraries, to those of cathedrals, or the universities, were frequently thrown into the grantees, as things of slender consideration. Their avarice was sometimes so mean, and their ignorance so undistinguishing, that when the covers were somewhat rich, and would yield a little, they pulled them off, threw away the books, or turned them to waste paper."—" A number of them which purchased these superstitious mansions, (says bishop Bale) reserved of those library books, some to serve their jakes, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots, and some they sold to the grocers and soap-sellers, and some they sent over sea to book-binders, not in small numbers, but at times *whole ships full*.

Yea, the universities are not all clear in this detestable fact; but cursed is the belly which seeketh to be fed with so ungodly gains, and so deeply shameth his native country. I know a merchant man (which shall at this time be nameless) that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings price; a shame it is to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied instead of gray paper by the space of more than these ten years, and *yet hath he store enough for as many years to come.*" Bale's Declaration, &c. apud Collier's Eccles. Hist. ii. 166.

Note Z. p. 201.

The personal aversion of Elizabeth to engage in the war of the Scottish Reformation has not, as far as I have observed, been noticed by any of our historians. It is, however, a fact well authenticated from state papers, whether it arose from extreme caution at the commencement of her reign, from her known parsimony, or from her high notions respecting royal prerogative. Cecil mentions it repeatedly in his correspondence with Throckmorton, "God trieth us (says he) with many difficulties. The Queen's majestie never liketh this matter of Scotland: you knowe what hangeth thereuppon: weak-hearted men and flatterers will follow that way.—I have had such a torment herein with the queen's majestie, as an ague hath not in five fitts so much abated." Forbes, i. 454, 455. In another letter he says; "What will follow of my going towards Scotlande, I know not; but I feare the success, quia, the queen's majestie is so evil disposed to the matter which troubleth us all." Ibid. 460. It was not until her council had presented a formal petition to her, that she gave her consent. Ibid. 390. Even after she had agreed to hostilities, she began to waver, and to listen to the artful proposals of the French court, who endeavoured to amuse her until such time as they were able to convey more effectual aid to the queen regent of Scotland. Killigrew, in a letter to Throckmorton, after mentioning the repulse of the English army in an assault upon the fortifications of Leith, says: "This, together with the bishope's [of Valence] relation unto the queen's majestie, caused her to *renew* the opinion of Cassandra." Ibid. 456. This was the principal cause of the suspension of hostilities, and the premature attempt to negotiate, in April 1560, which so justly alarmed the lords of the Congregation: an occurrence not adverted to in our common histories. Haynes, apud Sadler, i. 719, 721. The Scottish protestants were much indebted to Cecil and Throckmorton, for the assistance which they obtained from England. A number of the counsellors, who had been in the cabinet of



queen Mary, did all in their power to foster the disinclination of Elizabeth. Lord Grey, in one of his dispatches, complains of the influence of these ministers, whom he calls *Phillipians*, from their attachment to the interest of the king of Spain. Haynes, p. 295.

Note A-A. p. 205.

The hostile advance of the regent against Perth first drove the lords of the Congregation to take arms in their own defence. Her reiterated infractions of treaties, and the gradual development of her designs by the introduction of French troops into the kingdom, rendered the prospect of an amicable and permanent adjustment of differences very improbable, and dictated the propriety of strengthening their confederation, that they might be prepared for a sudden and more formidable attack. These considerations are sufficient to justify the posture of defence in which they kept themselves during the summer of 1559, and the steps which they took to secure assistance from England. If their exact situation is not kept in view, an accurate judgment of their conduct cannot be formed, and their partial and temporary resistance to the measures of the regent will be represented as an avowed rebellion against her authority. But whatever be the modern ideas on this subject, they did not consider the former as necessarily implying the latter, and they continued to profess not only their allegiance to their sovereign, but also their readiness to obey the queen regent in every thing not inconsistent with their security, and the liberties of the nation; nay, they actually yielded obedience, by paying the taxes to the officers appointed by her, and in other ways. Knox, p. 176. Private and confidential letters are justly considered as the most satisfactory evidence as to the intentions of men. Our Reformer, in a letter written to Mrs. Locke on the 25th of June, 1559, says; "The queen is retired unto Dunbar. The fine [end] is known unto God. We mean no tumult, no alteration of authority, but only the reformation of religion, and suppressing of idolatry." Cald. MS. i. 429. At an early period, indeed, she accused them of a design to throw off their allegiance. When the prior of St. Andrews joined their party, she industriously circulated a report that he ambitiously aimed at the sovereignty, and that they intended to confer it upon him. Knox, 149. Forbes, i. 180. It was one of the special instructions given to Sir Ralph Sadler, when he was sent down to Berwick, that he should "explore the very truth" as to this report. Sadler, i. 731. In all his confidential correspondence with his court, there is not the slightest insinuation that he had discovered any evidence to induce him to credit that

charge. This is a strong proof of the prior's innocence, if it be taken in connection with what I shall immediately state; not to mention the testimony of Melvil. *Memoirs*, p. 27.

When the earl of Arran joined the Congregation, the queen regent circulated the same report respecting him. Knox, p. 174. As far as the Congregation were concerned, this accusation was as unfounded as the former. *Ibid.* p. 176. But there are some circumstances connected with it which deserve attention, as setting, the loyalty of the Scottish protestants in a very clear light. The earl of Arran, and not the prior of St. Andrews, was the favourite of the English court. Messengers were appointed by them to bring him over from the continent, and he was conducted through England into Scotland, to be placed at the head of the Congregation. Forbes, i. 164, 166, 171, 216. Sadler, i. 417, 421, 437, 439. There is also evidence that the ministers of Elizabeth wished him to be raised to the throne of Scotland, if not also that they had projected the uniting of the two crowns by a marriage between him and Elizabeth. "The way to perfeit this assuredly (says Throckmorton to Cecil) is, that the erle of Arraine do as Edward the IV. did, when he landed at Ravenspurg: (he pretended to the duchy of York; and having that, he would not leave till he had the *diademe*) for then of necessitie th'erle of Arran must depend upon the devotion of England to maintein and defend himself. I feare all other devises and handelings will prove like an apotecary his shop; and therefore I leave to your discretion to provyde by all meanes for this matter, both there and in Scotland." And again: "Methinks, the lord of Grange, Ledington, Balnaves, and the chief doers of the Congregation (which I wold wish specially to be done and procured by the prior of St. Andrewes) should be persuaded to set forward these purposes before: for there is no way for them to have any savety or surety, oneles thei *make the earl of Arran king*; and as it is their surety, so it is also ours. In this mater there must be used both wisdome, courage, and -pede." Forbes, i. 435, 436. Throckmorton, it is to be observed, was at this time the most confidential friend of Cecil, and, in his dispatches from France, pressed the adoption of those measures which the secretary had recommended to the queen and council. Had not the Congregation been decidedly averse to any change of the government which would have set aside their queen, it seems highly probable that this plan would have been carried into execution. The report of an intended marriage between Elizabeth and Arran was general at this time; and whatever were the queen's own intentions, it seems to have been seriously contemplated by her ministers.

Ibid. 214, 215, 282, 288. This accounts for the recommendation of this measure by the Scottish Estates, after the conclusion of the civil war. Keith, 154.

Note BB. p. 214.

I shall produce some extracts from Knox's writings, relating to the principal points touched in the statement of his political sentiments. "In few wordis to speik my conscience; the regement of princes is this day cum to that heap of iniquitie, that no godlie man can bruke office or autoritie under thame, but in so doing hie salbe compellit not onlie aganis equitie and justice to oppres the pure, but also expressedlie to fycht aganis God and his ordinance, either in maintenance of idolatrie, or ellis in persecuting Godis chosin childrene. And what must follow heiroyf, but that ether princeis be reformat and be compellit also to reform their wickit lawis, or els all gud men depart fra thair service and companie?" Additions to the Apology of the Parisian Protestants, apud MS. Letters, p. 477. Dr. Robertson has ascribed to Knox and Buchanan an "excessive admiration of ancient policy," he says their "principles, authorities and examples were all drawn from ancient writers," and their political system founded "not on the maxims of feudal, but of ancient republican government." History of Scotland, vol. i. b. ii. p. 391. Lond. 1809. These assertions need some qualification. If republican government be opposed to absolute monarchy, the principles of Knox and Buchanan may be denominated republican; but if the term (as now commonly understood) be used in contradistinction to monarchy itself, it cannot be shewed that they admired or recommended republicanism. They were the friends of limited monarchy. It is the excellence of the government of Britain, that the feudal maxims which once predominated in it have been corrected, or their influence counteracted, by others borrowed from republican constitutions. And it is not a little to the credit of the moderation and good sense of these writers, that, notwithstanding all their admiration of ancient models of legislation, in comparison with the existing feudal monuments, they contented themselves with recommending such principles as were requisite for restraining the arbitrary power of kings, and securing the rights of the people. Nor were *all* their authorities and examples drawn from ancient writers, as may be seen in the Dialogue, *De jure regni apud Scotos*.

In a letter written by him to the queen Dowager, a few days after her suspension from the regency, he says: "My tounge did bothe perswade and obtain, that your autoritie and regiment suld be obeyed of us in all things lawfull, till ye declair yourself opin



enemie to this comoun welthe ; as now, allace ! ye have done." Historie, p. 180. This declaration is justified by the letters which he wrote to his brethren before his arrival in Scotland. The following extract from a letter addressed to the protestant nobility, December 17, 1557, is a specimen. " But now no farder to trubill you at the present, I will only advertis you of sic brut as I heir in thir partis uncertanlie noysit, whilk is this, that contradictioun and rebelloun is maid to the autoritie be sum in that realme. In whilk poynt my conscience will not suffer me to keip back from you my consall, ye, my judgment and commandment, whilk I communicat with yow in Godis feir, and by the assurance of his treuth, whilk is this, that nane of you that seik to promot the glorie of Chryst do suddanlie disobey or displeas the establisst autoritie in things lawfull, neither yit that ye assist or fortifie such as, for thair awn particular caus and warldlie promotioun, wald trubill the same. But, in the bowallis of Chryst Jesus, I exhort yow, that with all simplicite and lawfull obedience, with boldness in God, and with opin confessioun of your faith, ye seek the favour of the autoritie, that by it (yf possible be) the caus in whilk ye labour may be promotit, or, at the leist, not persecutit : Whilk thing, efter all humill requist, yf ye can not atteane, then with oppin and solemp protestation of your obedience to be given to the autoritie in all thingis not planelie repugnyng to God, ye lawfullie may attempt the extreamitie, whilk is, to provyd (whidder the autoritie will consent or no) that Chrystis evangell may be trewlie prehit, and his halie sacramentis ryechtliche ministerit unto yow and to your brethren, the subjectis of that realme. And farder ye lawfullie may, ye, and thairto is bound, to defend your brethrene frome persecutioun and tyranny, be it aganis princes or emprioris, to the uttermost of your power ; provyding alwayis (as I have said) that nether your self deny lawfull obedience, nether yit that ye assist nor promot thois that seik autoritie and pre-eminence of warldlie glorie." MS. Letters, p. 433, 435.

In his conversation with queen Mary, at Lochleven, we find him inculcating the doctrine of a mutual compact between rulers and subjects. " It sall be profitabill to your majesty to consider quhat is the thing your grace's subjects luiks to receave of your majesty, and quhat it is that ye aucht to do unto thame by *mutual contract*. They ar bound to obey you, and that not bot in God ; ye ar bound to keip lawes unto thame. Ye crave of thame service ; they crave of you protectioun and defence against wicked doars. Now, madam, if you sall deny your dewty unto thame (quhilk especialy craves that ye punish malefactors) think ye to receave full obedi-

ence of thame ?" *Historie*, p. 327. This sentiment was adopted by his countrymen. The committee appointed by the regent Murray to prepare overtures for the parliament, which met in December, 1567, (of which committee our Reformer was a member,) agreed to this proposition: "The *band and contract* to be *mutuale and reciprous* in all tymes cuming betwixt the prince and God, and his faithful people, according to the word of God." Robertson's *Records of Parliament*, p. 796. This was also one of the articles subscribed at the General Assembly in July preceeding; only the language there is more clear and express,— "mutual and reciproque in all tymes coming betwixt the prince and God, and also *betwixt the prince and faithful people*." Buik of the *Universall Kirk*, p. 34. *Adv. Lib. Keith*, 582. See also the proclamation of the king's authority. *Anderson's Collections* vol. ii. p. 205. *Keith*, 441. The right of resistance was formally recognized in the inscription upon a coin stamped soon after the coronation of James VI. On one of the sides is the figure of a sword with a crown upon it, and the words of Trajan circumscribed, *Pro me si mereor, in me*; i. e. *Use this sword for me; if I deserve it, against me*. Cardonell's *Numismata Scotiæ*, plate ix. p. 101. Our reformer's *Appellation* may be consulted for the proof of what has been asserted, (p. 213, 214,) as to his endeavours to repress aristocratical tyranny, and to awaken the mass of the people to a due sense of their rights. See also *Historie*, p. 100. The effect of the reformation in extending popular liberty was very visible in the parliament which met in August 1560, in which there were representatives from all the boroughs, and a hundred lesser barons, "with mony otheris baronis, fre halderis, and landit men." Keith has mentioned that during a space of no less than seventy-seven years preceeding "scarcely had *one* of the inferior gentry appeared in parliament. And therefore (adds he) I know not but it may be deemed somewhat *unusual*, for a hundred of them to jump all at once into the parliament, especially in such a juncture as the present was." *History*, p. 147, 148. The petition presented by the lesser barons, for liberty to sit and vote in the parliament, has this remarkable clause in it; "otherwise we think that whatsoever ordinances and statutes be made concerning us and our estate, we not being required and suffered to reason and vote at the making thereof, that the same should not oblige us to stand thereto." Robertson's *History of Scotland*, Append. No. 4.

Liberal principles respecting civil government accompanied the progress of the reformation. Knox had the concurrence of English bishops in his doctrine concerning the limited authority of kings, and the lawfulness of resisting them. See notes T and SS. He

had'the express approbation of the principal divines in the foreign churches. *Historie*, 363, 366. In the 17th century, some of the French divines, in their great loyalty to the *Grand Monarque*, disclaimed all approbation of our Reformer's political sentiments, and represented them as proceeding from the fervid and daring spirit of the Scots nation, or the peculiar constitution of their government. Riveti Castig. in Balzacum, cap. xiii. § 14. apud Oper. tom. iii. p. 539. See also the quotations from other French authors in Bayle, Diet. Art. Knox, Note E. In the controversy occasioned by the execution of Charles I. our Reformer's name and principles were introduced. Milton appealed to him, and made quotations from his writings, in defence of that deed. One of Milton's opponents says that he had only a single Scot to produce, "whom his own age could not suffer, and whom all the reformed, especially the French, condemned in this point." Regii Sanguinis Clamor ad cælum, p. 129. Hagæ-Comit. 1652, written by Peter du Moulin, the son. Milton, in his Rejoinder, urges with truth, that Knox had asserted, that his opinions were approved by Calvin, and other eminent divines of his acquaintance. Miltoni Defensio secunda pro Pop. Anglie. p. 101. Hagæ-Comit. 1654. See also Milton's Prose Works, by Symmons, vol. ii. p. 291—2, 307, 378. Lond. 1806. But long before this controversy arose, Milton had expressed himself in terms of high praise concerning our Reformer. "Nay, which is more lamentable, if the work of any deceased author, though never so famous in his life-time and even to this day, come to their hands for license to be printed or reprinted, if there be found in his book one sentence of a venturous edge, uttered in the height of zeal, (and who knows whether it might not be the dictate of a divine spirit?) Yet not suiting with every low decrepit humour of their own, though it were Knox himself, the reformer of a kingdom, that spake it, they will not pardon him their dash; the sense of that great man shall to all posterity be lost for the fearfulness, or the presumptuous rashness of a perfunctory licenser. And to what an author this violence hath bin lately done, and in what book of greatest consequence to be faithfully publisht, I could now instance, but shall forbear till a more convenient season." Milton's Prose Works, ut supra, vol. i. p. 311. This work of Milton first appeared in 1644, the year in which David Buchanan's edition of Knox's History was published.

Note CC. p. 227.

I shall, in this note, add some particulars respecting the early practice of the reformed church of Scotland, under different heads.



*Of Doctors.*—The doctrine of the church of Scotland, and indeed of other reformed churches, on this head, has not been very uniform and decided. The first book of discipline does not mention doctors, but it seems to take for granted what had been stated respecting the officers of the church in the book of common order, where they are declared to be “a fourth kind of ministers left to the church of Christ,” although the English church at Geneva could not attain them. Knox’s Liturgy, p. 14. Dunlop’s Confessions, ii. 409, 410. In the second book of discipline they are expressly mentioned as “ane of the twa ordinar and perpetual functions that travell in the word.” and “different from the pastor, not only in name, but in diversity of gifts.” The doctor is to “assist the pastor in the government of the kirk, and concur with the elders his brethren in all assemblies,” but not “to minister the sacraments or celebrate marriage” Dunlop, ii. 773, 774. The book of common order and second book of discipline agree in comprehending, under the name and office of a doctor, “the order in schooles, colledges, and universities.” *Ut supra*. The fact seems to be, that there never were any doctors in the church of Scotland, except the teachers of divinity in the universities. “*Quamvis ecclesia nostra (says Calderwood) post primam reformationem quatuor agnoscat ministrorum genera, pastorum, doctorum, presbyterorum, et diaconorum: tamen doctores alios nondum habuit quam scholarchas.*” *De Regimine Ecclesie Scoticanæ Brevis Relatio*, p. 1, 2. Anno 1618. Some writers have asserted that it was as doctors that both Buchanan and Andrew Melville sat, and sometimes presided, in the church courts. The Episcopalians having objected that the church of Scotland admitted persons to act as moderators in her assemblies who were in no ecclesiastical office, and instanced in the two persons above mentioned, Mr. Baillie gives this answer: “Mr. Melvil was a doctor of divinity, and so long as episcopal persecution permitted, did sit with great renowne in the prime chair we had of that faculty: George Buchanan had sometimes, as I have heard, been a preacher at St. Andrews; after his long travells he was employed by our church and state to be a teacher to king James and his family: of his faithfulness in this charge he left, I believe, to the world good and satisfactory tokens: the eminency of this person was so great, that no society of men need be ashamed to have been moderated by his wisdom.” *Historical Vindication*, p. 21, 22. The report which Mr. Baillie had heard of Buchanan having been a preacher, probably originated from the divinity lectures which Calderwood informs us he read with great applause in the university of St. Andrews. “Buchanan

and Mr. Melvin were doctors of divinity" says Rathurfurd, *Lex Rex*, pref. p. 5. Lond. 1644.

*Of Readers.*—Those employed as *readers* appear to have often transgressed the bounds prescribed to them, and to have both solemnized marriage, and administered the sacraments. Different acts of assembly were made to restrain these excesses. The General Assembly, October 1576, prohibited all readers from ministering "the holy sacrament of the Lord, except such as hes the word of exhortation." The assembly which met in July 1579, inhibited them from celebrating marriage, unless they were found meet by "the commission, or synodal assembly." At length, in April 1581, the order was suppressed. "Anent readers: Forsamekle as in assemblies preceeding, the office thereof was concludit to be no ordinar office in the kirk of God, and the admission of them suspendit to the present assemblie; the kirk in ane voyce hes votit and concludit farder, that in na tymes coming any reider be admitted to the office of reider, be any having power within the kirk." *Buik of the Universall Kirk*, in loc.

*Of Superintendents.*—The church of Scotland did not consider superintendents as ordinary or permanent office-bearers in the church. They are not mentioned in the book of common order. The first book of discipline explicitly declares that their appointment was a matter of temporary expedience, in the plantation of the church, and on account of the paucity of ministers. Its words are: "Because we have appointed a larger stipend to them that shall be superintendents than to the rest of the ministers, we have thought good to signifie to your honours such reasons as moved us to make difference betwixt teachers *at this time*." And again: "We consider that if the ministers whom God hath endowed with his singular graces amongst us, should be appointed to several places there to make their continual residence, that then the greatest part of the realme should be destitute of all doctrine: which should not onely be the occasion of great murmur, but also be dangerous to the salvation of many. And *therefore* we have thought it a thing *most expedient at this time*, that from the whole number of godly and learned men, now presently in this realm, be selected ten or twelve (for in so many provinces we have divided the whole) to whom charge and commandment should be given, to plant and erect kirkes, to set, order, and appoint ministers, as the former order prescribes, to the countries that shall be appointed to their care where none are now." First and Second Books of Discipline, p. 35. printed anno 1621. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 538, 539. Archbishop Spottiswood has

not acted faithfully, if his History has been printed, in this place, exactly according to his manuscript. He has omitted the passages above quoted, and has comprehended the whole of the two paragraphs from which they are extracted in a short sentence of his own, which is far from being a full expression of the meaning of the compilers. History, p. 158. Lond. 1677. This is the more inexcusable as he says that for "the clearing of many questions which were afterwards agitated in the church," he "thought meet *word by word* to insert the same [the First Book of Discipline] that the reader may see what were the grounds laid down at first for the government of the church." Ibid. p. 152. He could not be ignorant that the grounds of the appointment of superintendents formed one of the principal questions agitated between him and his opponents. I have compared the copy of the First Book of Discipline, inserted in an old MS. copy of Knox's Historie, and find that it exactly agrees with the quotations which I have made from the editions published in 1621, and by Dunlop. Dr. Robertson has been misled by the archbishop. "On the first introduction of his system, (says he) Knox did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form. Instead of bishops, he proposed to establish ten or twelve superintendents in different parts of the kingdom." As his authority for this statement, he refers solely to the mutilated account in Spottiswood. Robertson, *ut supra*, ii. 42, 43. Mr. Laing, from an examination of the original documents, has given a more accurate account, and pronounced the appointment of superintendents a "temporary expedient." History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 17, 18. Lond. 1804.

The superintendents were elected and admitted in the same manner as other pastors. Knox, 263. They were equally subject to rebuke, suspension, and deposition, with the rest of the ministers of the church. In the examination of those who were admitted by them to the ministry, they were bound to associate with them the ministers of the neighbouring parishes. They could not exercise any spiritual jurisdiction without the consent of the provincial synods, over which they had no negative voice. They were accountable to the General Assembly for the whole of their conduct. The laborious task imposed upon them is what few bishops have ever submitted to. "They must be preachers themselves; they are charged to "remain in no place above twenty daies in their visitation, till they have passed through their whole bounds." They "must thrice everie week preach at the least." When they return to their principal town or residence, "they



must be likewise exercised in preaching;" and having remained in it "three or foure monthes at most, they shall be compelled (unless by sicknesse they be retained) to re-enter in visitation." Dunlop, ii. 542. *De Regimine Eccles. Scotican. brevis relatio*, p. 5, 6. Anno 1618. *Epistolae Philadelphi Vindiciæ contra calumnias Spotswoodi, apud Altare Damascenum*, p. 724—727. edit. 2 da. Lugd. Batav. 1708. In this tract (of which Calderwood was the author) the difference between the Scottish superintendents and Anglican bishops is drawn out under thirteen heads. Spotswood's treatise is entitled, *Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, Lond. 1620.

In the text (p. 226,) I have said that six superintendents were appointed. The names of five, with their districts, may be seen in the common histories. Knox, 236. Spottis. 149. The *sixth* was John Row, minister of Perth, who was made superintendent of Galloway by appointment of the General Assembly. Row's MS. *Historie of the Kirk*, p. 358, of a copy transcribed in 1726. The *visitors* or *commissioners* of provinces exercised the same power as the superintendents; the only difference between them was that the former received their commission from one assembly to another. *Altare Damascenum*, ut supra, p. 727. But these commissions appear sometimes to have been granted for a longer period; for one of Robert Pont's titles was Commissioner of Murray. Perhaps, in this case, a commissioner differed from a superintendent, merely in not being obliged to have his stated residence within the bounds of the province committed to his inspection.

*Of the weekly Exercise or Prophesying.*—This was an exercise upon the scriptures, intended for the improvement of ministers, the trial of the gifts of those who might be employed in the service of the church, and the general instruction of the people. It was to be held in every town "where schools and repaire of learned men are." For conducting the exercise, there was an association of the ministers, and other learned men, in the town and vicinity, called "the company of interpreters." They alternately expounded a passage of scripture; and others who were present were encouraged to deliver their sentiments. After the exercise was finished, the constituent members of the association retired, and delivered their judgment on the discourses which had been delivered. *Books of Discipline*, ut supra, p. 60—62. Dunlop, ii. 587—591. After the erection of regular presbyteries, this exercise formed an important part of their employment; and at every meeting, two of the members by turns commonly expounded the scriptures. *De Regimine Eccl. Scot. Brevis Relatio*, p. 3.

Until lately some traces of this ancient practice remained, and there is reason to regret that it has generally gone into disuse among presbyterian bodies. Associations of the same kind were formed in England. From 1571 to 1576, they spread through that kingdom, and were patronized by the bishops of London, Winton, Bath and Wells, Litchfield, Gloucester, Lincoln, Chichester, Exon, St. David's Sandys archbishop of York, and Grindall archbishop of Canterbury. Several of the courtiers, as Sir Walter Mildmay, Sir Francis Knollys, and Sir Thomas Smith, greatly approved of them; and, at a future period, they were recommended to king James by lord Bacon. But they were suppressed by an imperious mandate from Elizabeth. Some interesting particulars respecting their number, regulations, and suppression, may be seen in Strype's Annals, ii. 90—95, 219, 220, 318—324, 486. Life of Grindal, p. 219—227, 230, 299, 300. Life of Parker, 460—462. They were formed on the model of the Scottish exercises, and, in the regulations, the very words of the First Book of Discipline are sometimes used. A species of ecclesiastical discipline was joined with them in some dioceses. I also observe a striking resemblance between the directions given by bishop Scambler for the celebration of the Lord's supper, and the mode which was then used in Scotland, particularly as to the circumstance of two communions or ministrations on the same day, and the early hour of the service. Strype's Annals, ii. 91, compared with Scott's History of the Scottish Reformers, p. 492.

Keith has given a quotation from the MS. copy of Spottiswood's History, in which the archbishop signifies, that, at the time of the compilation of the First Book of Discipline, several of the reformed ministers wished to retain the ancient policy, after removing the more gross corruptions and abuses, but that Knox overruled this motion. Keith, 492. But there is no trace, in the authentic documents of that period, of any diversity of opinion among the Scottish reformers on this head. The supposition is contradicted by Row, (see above p. 224,) and by their own language, Dunlop, ii. 518. Knox, Historic, 232. It is probable that the archbishop's story had its origin at a later period, when the design of conforming the church of Scotland to the English model began to be entertained. I confess, I am not inclined to give much more credit to another of the archbishop's tales as to a message which archbishop Hamilton is said to have sent to Knox by John Brand: History, 174. Keith, 495.

## Note DD. p. 228.

A short account of *John Row* will introduce the particulars which I have to state respecting the study of the Hebrew language in Scotland. The account is taken from the *Historie* of his son, John Row, minister of Carnock, and the copy of the MS. which I quote in this note is one transcribed in 1726. He was born in a place called *Row*, between Stirling and Dumblain. After finishing his education, and being laureated, at St. Andrews, he pleaded for some time as an advocate before the consistorial court in that city. Having resolved to travel, he, about the year 1550, was intrusted by the Scottish clergy with the management of some of their affairs at the court of Rome. He applied himself to the prosecution of his studies with great diligence, and received the degree of *Doctor utriusque juris* from two Italian universities. He was a favourite with two pontiffs, Julius III. and Paul V. and had every prospect of preferment at Rome; but having lost his health, he resolved to return to his native country. Upon his departure from Rome, May 20, 1558, the pope invested him with a public character, and gave him instructions for checking the progress of heresy in Scotland. Having arrived in this country, September 29, 1558, he exerted himself for some time in executing his commission, but was soon converted to the protestant faith. Row's MS. *Historie*, ut supra, p. 308—310. The exposure of the pretended miracle wrought at Musselburgh, (see above, p. 219,) was the first thing which staggered his mind. Being in the house of Meldrum, the gentleman in Fife who had detected the imposture, the young man who was said to have been cured of blindness was brought into his presence, where he "played his pavier," by "flying up the lid of his eyes and casting up the white." While Row was confounded at this discovery, Meldrum addressed him very seriously. "Weill, Mr. John Row, ye are a great clergyman, and a great linguist and lawyer, but I charge you, as you must answer to the great God at the last day, that ye do not now hold out any light that God offers you, but that ye will, as soon as ye come to your study, close the door upon you, and take your Bible, and seriously pray to God that ye may understand the scriptures.—Read the 2d ch. of the 2d epistle of the Thessalonians; and if ye do not see your master, the pope, to be the great antichrist who comes with lying wonders to deceive the people of God (as now he and his deceiving rabble of clergy in Scotland have done lately at Musselburgh,) ye shall say Squire Meldrum has no skill." Row, p. 356. By conference with several of the reformed ministers, particularly Knox, he was



brought to an abjuration of popery. "*Ipse nuncius (says his grandson) nasso evangellii irretitus, ejus pura, pia, pathetica prædicatione inescatus, pontificiis syrtibus, famigerati Knoxii opera, extractus est.*" *Hebrææ linguæ Institutiones*, a M. Joa. Row, epist. dedic. A 3. b. Glasgæ 1644. In the beginning of the year 1560 he was admitted minister of Kinneuchar in Fife, where he married Margaret Beatoun, a daughter of the laird of Balfour. Row's *Historie*, ut supra. Before the end of that year he was translated to Perth. Knox, 236. Keith, 498.

During his residence in Italy he had made great proficiency in the knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages. The latter was at this time almost entirely unknown in Scotland, and he immediately began, at the recommendation of his brethren, to teach it. The grammar-school of Perth was the most celebrated in the kingdom, and the noblemen and gentlemen were accustomed to send their children there for their education. Many of these were now boarded with Mr. Row, who instructed them in Greek and Hebrew. As nothing but Latin was spoken by the boys in the school and in the fields, so nothing was spoken in Mr. Row's house but French. The passages of scripture read in the family before and after meals, if in the Old Testament, were read in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French and English; if in the New Testament, they were read in Greek, &c. His son, John, when he was between four and five years old, was taught the Hebrew characters, before he knew the English letters; and at eight years of age he read the Hebrew chapter in the family. When he went to the newly erected university of Edinburgh, his uncommon acquaintance with the Hebrew language attracted the particular notice of the learned and amiable principal Rollock. Row's *Historie*, 372—375. *Hebræ Ling. Institut.* ut supra. Mr. Row instructed the master of the grammar-school in the Greek tongue, by which means it came to be taught afterwards in Perth. And in 1637 his own grandson (of the same name) was Rector of that school, in which he taught Latin, Greek and Hebrew. This produced the following encomiastic verses by principal Adamson of Edinburgh.

Perthana quondam Latialis linguæ schola  
 Laude cluebat, fueratq. unius labri.  
 Nunc est trilinguis, Latio jungens Græciam,  
 Et huic Palestinam; omnium linguis loquens.  
 O ter beatam te nunc Perthanam scholam!  
 O ter beatum Rollum rectorem tuum!  
 Per quem juvenus, barbariæ procul habitu,

Rudis et tenella primulis labellulis  
Solymas, Athenas, et Romam scite sonat.

About the year 1567, *James Lawson*, (afterwards Knox's successor at Edinburgh,) returned from the continent, where he had studied Hebrew. The professors of St. Andrews prevailed on him to give lessons on that language in their university. Life of Lawson, p. 2. in Wodrow's MS. Collections, vol. i. Bibl. Coll. Glasg. As he was made sub-principal in the university of Aberdeen, anno 1569, it is to be presumed that he would also teach the language there. Lawson, after his settlement in Edinburgh, patronized the interests of literature in this city. It was chiefly by his exertions that the buildings for the High-School were completed in 1578. His intentions were to have it erected into an university, or at least to make it *Scholam Illustram*, with classes of logic and philosophy. The books destined for the library were kept in his house, previous to the foundation of the college. Crawford's History of the University of Edinburgh, p. 19, 20. I have already (p. 403, 404,) noticed the arrival of *Andrew Melville* in 1573, and the situation which he held both at Glasgow and St. Andrews. After prosecuting his studies at Paris, under the celebrated masters Turnebus, Mercerus, and Ramus, and professed philosophy at Poitiers, he had, during the five years that he spent at Geneva, learned the Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Syriac tongues, from Cornelius Bertram. The regent Morton offered him the archbishopric of St. Andrews, but he refused it, and chose an academical life. Life of Andrew Melville, apud Wodrow's MSS. ut supra. Calderwood, Epistolæ Philadelphi Vindiciæ, apud Altare Damascenum, p. 731. Spottiswood, to whom he was a keen antagonist, allows that he was a great proficient in the three learned languages. "Andreas Melvinus bonis literis excultus, et trium linguarum, quarum eo seculo ignorantia illi famam et tantum non admirationem apud omnes peperit, ealentissimus." Refutatio Libelli de Regim. Eccles. Scotic. p. 31. *Thomas Smeton*, who succeeded Melville at Glasgow, was also a Hebrician, as appears from his answer to Hamilton's Dialogue. Those who held the situation of principal in the universities at that time were accustomed to teach those branches which were most neglected.

I have said in the text, that the reformers, while they exerted themselves to revive the knowledge of the learned languages, did not neglect the improvement of the native tongue. Among others, *David Ferguson*, minister of Dunfermline, distinguished himself in this department. He had not the advantage of the same

learned education with many of his brethren; but possessing a lively wit and elegant taste, he applied himself particularly to the cultivation of the Scottish language. Smetoni Responsio ad Hamilt. Dialog. p. 92. Row's Coronis to his Historie, p. 314, of copy in Divinity, Lib. Edin. The sermon which he preached at Leith before the regent and nobility, and afterwards published, (see above, p. 351,) is a proof of this, and had it not been a sermon, would most probably have been republished before this time as a specimen of good Scottish composition. Extracts from it may be seen in the following note. John Davidson, then one of the regents at St. Andrews, celebrated the success of the author in refining his vernacular language in the following Latin lines, which are prefixed to the sermon.

Græcia melifluo quantum det nestoris ori,  
 Aut demostheneo debeat eloquio;  
 Ipsi facundo quantum (mihi crede) parenti  
 Attribuat linguæ turba togata suæ;  
 Nos tibi, Fergusi, tantum debere fatemur,  
 Scotanam linguam qui reparare studes.  
 Sermonem patriam ditas; inculta vetustas  
 Horret qua longe barbariemque fugas;  
 Adde etiam, neque abest facundis gratia dictis,  
 Respondet verbis materia apta tuis.  
 Quod satis ostendit nobis tua concio præsens,  
 Qua nihil in lucem doctus ire potest.

Besides this sermon, Ferguson was the author of a collection of *Scottish proverbs*, and of an *Answer* to the Rejoinder which the Jesuit Tyrie made to Knox. That abusive writer, *James Laing*, calls this last work "a barbarous, and Scotiean epistle," and rails against its author as an *ignorant sutor*, and *glover*, who knew neither Hebrew, nor Greek, nor Latin. As for himself, although a Scotsman, he tells us, that he thought it beneath him to write in a language which was fit only for barbarians and heretics. "Tres sunt linguæ elegantes et ingenuæ, Hebraica, Græca, et Latina, quæ nobilibus principibus—sunt dignæ: cæteras linguas, cum sint barbaræ, barbaris et hæreticis tanquam propriis relinquo." De Vita, &c. Hæreticorum, Dedie. p. ult. et p. 31. Notwithstanding this writer's boasts concerning his literature, and the opportunities which he takes to display it, if we may judge from his book, he did not know the top from the bottom of a Hebrew letter, p. 94. b. Laing's objection to the literature of Ferguson may, however, be thought as solid as that which another



popish writer has brought against his morals, by accusing him of using pepper instead of salt to his beef. "At hi quibus carnem accendant, irritantq. novas artes quotidie excogitant." And on the margin, "Exemplo est David Ferguson ad macerandas earne Bubulas pipere pro sale utens." Hamilton, De Confus. Calvinianæ Sectæ, p. 76. But to do justice to Hamilton, it is proper to mention that pepper was at that time so high priced as to be a morsel only for a Pope, or a Cardinal, and very unfit for the mouths of barbers, cobblers, &c. of which rank he tells us the reformed preachers generally were. Principal Smeton, after saying that Ferguson had reared a numerous family on a very moderate stipend, adds: "Undenam ergo illi, amabo te, tantum piperis ad earne quotannis macerandas, quantum sexcentis apud nos aureis nummis nemo unquam compararit?" The truth is, there was rather too much salt and pepper in the writings of Ferguson for the papists.

Note EE. p. 228.

There were three objects to which the reformed ministers wished the ecclesiastical revenues to be applied, to the maintenance of ministers, of the teachers of youth, and of the poor. For the ministers they required that "honest provision" should be made, so as to give "neither occasion of sollicitude, neither yet of insolencie and wantonnesse." They thought it reasonable that provision should also be made for their wives and children after their death. In ordinary cases, they proposed 40 bolls of meal, and 26 bolls of malt, as an adequate stipend. These stipends were to be paid from the tithes; but they proposed the abolishing of all illegal or oppressive exactions which had formerly been made by the clergy. The deacons, and not the ministers, were to collect the tithes, and, after paying the stipends, to apply the remainder to the other purposes. For the support of the universities, they proposed that the revenues of the bishoprics and collegiate churches, should be divided, and appropriated. Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 533, 534, 537, 538, 566.

This was very unpalatable doctrine to the most of the protestant nobility and gentry. They had already cast a covetous eye upon the rich revenues of the popish clergy. They had seized upon some of their lands, and they retained the tithes in their own hands. They had made private bargains with some of the incumbents, and were anxious to have them legalized. Hence their aversion to ratify the book of discipline; hence the exception with which it was subscribed; hence the poverty and complaints of the ministers, and the languishing state of the

universities. If we consider the extent of the establishments proposed, including the support of ministers, parochial teachers, city colleges, and national universities, the demand made by the ministers for the appropriation of all the funds devoted to the church will not appear unreasonable; and they shewed themselves disinterested, by requiring a moderate allowance to themselves. They did not regard tithes as of divine right, nor think that it was sacrilegious in every case to apply to secular purposes funds which had been originally set apart to a religious use. But they held that, by the Christian as well as the Jewish law, a competent subsistence was appointed to be made for the ministers of religion; that it was incumbent on a nation which had received the true religion to make public provision for the outward maintenance of its ordinances; that the appropriation of the tenth part of property for this purpose was at least recommended by primeval usage, by the sanction of divine wisdom in the Jewish constitution, and by the laws and practice of Christian empires and kingdoms; that property which had been set apart and given for religious ends could not justly, or without sacrilege, be alienated, *as long as it was needed for these purposes*; that though many of the donors might have the support of superstitious observances immediately in their eye, still it was with a view to religion that they made such gifts; and that in as far as it should appear that the ecclesiastical revenues were superabundant and unnecessary, they were willing that this should be applied to the common service of the state. To illustrate their sentiments on this subject, and the manner in which they urged their complaints, I shall add a few extracts from some of their writings which are not so commonly consulted.

My first extracts shall be from Ferguson's sermon, to which our Reformer set his hand a little before his death. Having given an account of the law of Moses, the ordinance of the New Testament, and the practice of the primitive church, he adds: "Ye se, then, that the ministers of the primitive kirk (that levit befor princees wer Christianes and nurischers of the kirk, as it was propheseit) wer na beggaris, suppois thay wer no lordis that aboundit in superfluous welth, as the papis bishoppis did; bot had sufficient asweill for the necessitie of thair owin families, as for the help of uther Christianes that now and then, as occasiones servit, repairit to thair housis.—Quhen the tyme come foirspokin bi David (Psal. lxxviii. and cii.) that kingis and emperouris, and thair kingdomes, suld serve the Lord, and bring giftes unto him," they, "following his exampil that only is wyse, ordainit be thair autoritie, that the tiendis sulde serve to the

same use in the tyme of the gospell.”—“Our youth also aucht to be nurischit and mantenit at the schuilis, that thairoutof efterward nicht spring preicheris, counsellouris, physiciounis, and all other kinds of learnit men that we have neid of. For the scheulis are the seid of the kirk and commoun welth, and our childrene are the hope of the posteritie, quhilk being neglectit, thair can nathing be luikit for bot that barbarous ignorance sall overflow all. For suppois God has wonderouslie, at this tyme, steirit up preicheris amang us, evin quhen darknes and ignorance had the upperhand, he will not do sa heirefter, seeing we have the ordinarie meane to provide them, quhilk gif we contempne, in vane sall we loke for extraordinary provisioun. Israel was miraculusslie fed in the wildernes with manna, bot how soon thay did eit of the corne of the land of Canaan, the manna ceissit, nouthar had thay it ony moir, bot levit efterward on the frute of the ground, ordinarilie labourit with thair handis. I speik to prudent men that may understande and judge quhat I say.” After deploing the decayed state of the churches and schools, and the poverty of the ministers, he adds: “I am compellit to speik this, thoct I be als plane as plesant, and appeir to yow as the greitest fule of the rest to stand up heir to utter that quhilk other men thinkis. Weill; let me be countit a fule for speiking the treuth. I regard not; nouthar may I spair to speik it, thoct I suld be judgeit in our awin eaus to be earayit away with a particular affectioun; following heirin the exampil of our prophet Malachie.”—“Ye marvel, I doubt not, quhy ye have not prevailit aganis yone throteutteris and unnaturall murtheres within the towne and castell of Edinburgh, specially ye heving a maist just actioun, being ma in number, and mair vailyeant men, and nathing inferiour to thame in wisdom, circumspectioun, or ony gude qualiteis outhar of body or mynd. Bot ceis to marvel: for the eaus quhy that ye have not prevailit aganis thame long or now, amang mony uther your sinnis quhairwith ye are defylt, is this, that the spuilye of the pure is in your housis: ye invaid that quhilk our forbearis gave of gude zeill to Goddis honour, and the commoun welth of the kirk; ye spuilye to your awin private usis, without outhar ryme or resoun, nouthar will ye be controllit. This, this, I say, is the chief eaus that nathing prosperis in your handis. I grant that our fatheris, of immoderate zeill (besyde the teindis and necessarie rentis of the kirk,) gave thairunto superfluously, and mair nor aneuch. Quhat then is to be done, but that the preicheris of God’s word be reasonable sustenit, seing thair is eneuch and over mekle to do it. the schullis and



the pure be weill provydit, as thay aueht, and the tempillis honestly and reverently repairit, that the pepill without injurie of wynd or wedder, may sit and heir Goddis word, and participat of his haly sacramentis. And gif thair restis ony thing unspendit quhen this is done (as na dout thair wil,) in the name of God, let it be bestawit on the nixt necessarie affairis of the commoun welth, and not to any mannis private commoditie." *Ane sermon preachit befor the regent and nobilitie—be David Fergusson.* B. iv. v. C. Lekpreuik, 1571.

The following extracts are taken from sermons against Sacrilege by Robert Pont, a son-in-law of our Reformer. "From the yeare of our Lorde 1560, unto this present time, the greatest study of all men of power of this land, hes bene by all kinde of inventions, to spoyle the kirk of Christ of her patrimonie, by chopping and changing, diminishing of rentals, converting of victual in small sumes of money: setting of fewes within the availe, long tackes uppon tackes, with two or three life-rentes, with many twentie yeares in an tack, annexationes, erectiones of kirk-rents, in temporall livings and heritage, pensiones, simple donationes, erecting of new patronages, union of teindes, making of new abattes, commendatares, priors, with other papistical titles which ought to have no place, in a reformed kirk and countrie; with an infinite of other corrupt and fraudfull waies, to the detriment and hurte of the kirke, the schooles, and the poore, without any stay or gaine-calling.

"Trueth it is, parlamentes have bene conveyened, and acts have bene made, for providing ministers of competent livings; for reparaling of parish kirkes, for trayning up the youth in schooles of theologie. It hath bene also promised, and subscribed in writte, by a greate parte of the nobilitie, that the poore labourers of the groundes, should have an ease and reliefe of the rigorous exacting of their teindes: and many other good thinges have bene devised, tending to the advancement of the glorie of God, and establishing of Christ his kingdome. Amongst us, namely, in time of the governmente of that good regente (whome for honoures cause I name) who although he could not doe all that hee woould have done, (having so manie hinderances and enemies;) yet his dooings might have bin a perfute patterne of godlinesse to the reste of the nobilitie, to make them bene content to live uppon their own rentes, and to cease from robbing and spoyling the patrimonie of the kirke." Having proposed the objection, that the Levitical law of Moses is abrogated, and therefore his authorities from the Old Testament had no force under the gospel, he adds: "I aunswere concerning these landes or annuall rentes,

tut of landes delated and given to the kirke, that although the Leviticall lawe, with the ceremonies thereof, concerning the outwarde observation hath taken an ende, and is fulfilled in Christ; yet the substance of the policie, concerning interteinment of the service of God, and up-hold of religion still remaines. And it is no lesse necessarie, that the ministerie of God amongst us be mainteined; and that sufficient provision be made to serve other godlie uses, whereunto the kirke-rentes ought to be applyed nor it was, that the priestes and levites should bene upholden in the time of the olde law. And as to the holinesse or unholines of these landes and revenues: albeit in their owne nature (as I saide in the former sermon) they be like other earthly possessiones; yet in so far as they were applyed to an holy use, they may wel be called holy possessions and rents, as the kirk is holy, to whose use they are appointed.—I will not deny but the teinds might be possibly changed, in other meanes of sufficient provision for the kirke, if such godly zeale were nowe amongst men, as was of olde time. But in so farre as we see the plain contrarie, that men are now readier to take away, then ever our predecessors were to give; it were a foolish thing to loose the certaine for the uncertaine, and that which is never likely to come to passe.” Pont’s Sermons, against Sacrilege. B 8. C 2. C 8. E 6. Waldegrave, 1599.

Note FF. p. 229.

The first appointment of a moderator was in Dec. 1563. “It was proponit be the haille assemblie yat ane moderator suld be appointit for avoyding confusioun in reasoning.” Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 8. Adv. Libr. The assembly which met at Perth, August 1572, “ordained, as a perpetual law, that no person of whatever estate take in hand to speak without license asked and given by the moderator, that moderation should be kept in reasoning, and silence when commanded by the moderator, under pain of removal from the assembly, and not to re-enter during that convention.” Ibid. p. 55. In July 1568, to correct evils “be reason of the pluralitie and confusion of voces” it was enacted that none should have power to vote but superintendents, commissioners appointed to visit kirks, ministers “brought with yame, presented as habile to reasone, and having knowledge to judge,” commissioners of burghs, shires, and universities. The ministers were to be chosen at the synodal convention of the diocese, by consent of the rest of the ministry and gentlemen that shall convene at the said synodal convention, commissioners of

burghs by "the counsell and kirk of their awn townes."—"None to be admitted without sufficient commission or writ." To prevent a monopoly of power, they were to be changed from assembly to assembly. Ibid. p. 38. The assembly, March 15  $\frac{6}{7}$ , settled the following order of procedure. After sermon and prayer by former moderator, 1. A new moderator to be chosen. 2. Superintendents, commissioners, &c. to be tried. This trial was very regular. First, the superintendents being removed, inquiry was made of the ministers and commissioners of their bounds if they had any charges to lay against them as to neglect of duty, &c. If any charge was brought, it was examined and sentence passed. The same order was observed with the other members of assembly. 3. The case of penitents and persons under censure to be considered. Lastly, The business left undecided by last assembly, or brought before the present, was to be taken up. Ibid. p. 47.

Note GG. p. 230.

In a letter, dated 28th August 1559, Knox requests Calvin's opinion on the two following questions. 1. Whether bastards, the children of idolaters and excommunicated persons, should be admitted to baptism, before their parents gave satisfaction to the church, or they themselves were able to require it? 2. Whether monks and popish priests, who neither serve the church, nor are capable of serving it, although they have renounced their errors, ought to have the annual rents of the church paid to them? Knox had maintained the negative on the last question. The letter is said to be written *raptim*. "*Plura scribere vetant febris qua crucior, laborum moles qua premor, et Gallorum bombardæ, quæ, ut nos opprimant, appulreunt.*" Comp. Historie, p. 161. Calvin, in a letter, dated November 8, 1559, answers, that it was his opinion and that of his colleagues, on the first question, That the sacrament of baptism was not to be administered to those who were without the church, nor to any without proper sponsors; but the promise (upon which the right was founded) was not confined to the posterity in the first degree: therefore those who were descended from godly parents were to be viewed as belonging to the church, although their parents or even grand-parents had become apostates, and such children were not to be refused baptism, provided persons appeared as sponsors, engaging for their religious education. "*Adde quod alia est nunc renascentis ecclesiæ ratio, quam rite formatæ et compositæ.*" Comp. Dunlop, ii. 573. On the second question, he says, that although those who performed no service in the church had not a just claim to be



supported by its funds, still as the popish clergy had brought themselves under bonds in times of ignorance, and had consumed a part of their lives in idleness, it seemed harsh to deprive them of all support. He therefore advises a middle course to be adopted. *Calvini Epistolæ et Responsa*, p. 516—520. *Hanoviæ*, 1597. *Ibid.* p. 201, 202. *apud Oper. tom. ix. Amstælod.* 1667.

From another letter of Calvin to Knox, dated April 23, 1561, it appears that the Genevan reformer had been consulted by our countrymen on some other points on which they were difficulted; most probably on those questions on which the nobility and the ministers differed. He wrote them accordingly, but soon after was applied to a second time for his opinion on the same subject, as his first letter had miscarried. Knowing that his judgment was not altogether agreeable to some of them, he suspected that they wished to draw from him an answer more favourable to their own sentiments, and expressed his dissatisfaction at such conduct. Knox, who appears to have been employed in the correspondence, was grieved at this suspicion, and had purged himself from the imputation. Calvin in this letter apologizes for his severity, and assures him that he never entertained any suspicion of his integrity. “*Te vero dolose quicquam egisse, neque dixi, neque suspicatus sum.—Ac mihi dolet, quod exiderat ex ore meo, sic in animum tuum penetrasse, ut putares mala fidei aut astutiæ, a qua te remotum esse judico, fuisse insinulatam. Facessat igitur metus ille vel cura.*” In both letters, Calvin signifies his high satisfaction at the wonderful success of the reformation in Scotland. The conclusion of the last is expressive of the unaffected piety of the writer, and his warm regard for his correspondent. “*Hic versamur inter multa discrimina. Una tantum cælestis præsidii fiducia nos a trepidatione eximit: quamvis nos simus metu vacui. Vale, eximie vir, et ex animo colende frater. Dominus tibi semper adsit, te gubernet, tueatur, ac sustentet sua virtute.*” *Ut supra*, p. 564—566. *et in alter. edit. p. 150.*

These are the only parts of the correspondence between Calvin and our Reformer which have been published; but Mons. Senebier, the librarian of Geneva, has informed us that there are a number of Knox's letters to Calvin preserved in the public library of that city. *Histoire Litteraire de Geneve. Tom. i. p. 380.* During his residence at Geneva, Knox became acquainted with *Beza*, who then acted as professor of Greek in the neighbouring city of *Lausanne*, from which he was translated to Geneva, upon the erection of the university there, the same year in which our Reformer returned to Scotland. An epistolary correspondence was afterwards maintained between them. Two letters of *Beza* to Knox,

the one dated June 3, 1669, the other April 12, 1572, are inserted in *Epistol. Theolog. Bezæ*, p. 333—336. 344—346, of the first edition; and p. 301—307. 314—316. of the second edition, Geneva, 1575. Both of them evince the writer's ardent regard for our reformer, and his high opinion of our reformation. The first letter is inscribed "To John Knox, the Restorer of the Gospel of God in Scotland," and begins with these words: "Gratiam et pacem tibi, mi frater, omnibusque vestris sanctis ecclesiis opto a Deo et Patre Domini nostri Jesu Christi, cui etiam gratias ago assidue, tum de tanta ipsius in vos beneficentia, tum de vestra singulari in asserendo ipsius cultu constantia et animi fortitudine.—Euge mi frater, quam recte illud quod disciplinam simul cum doctrina conjungitis? obsecro et obtestor ut ita pergatis, ne vobis idem quod tam multis eveniat, ut quia in limine impegerant; progredi non possint, imo etiam interdum ne velint quidem, quod longe misserrimum est." The second letter, which behoved to be received by Knox only a few months before his death, could not fail to be gratifying to him, even although he had then taken a formal farewell of the world. It is addressed "To his dearest Brother and Colleague," and begins in the following lofty strain of affection: "Etsi tanto terrarum et maris ipsius intervallo disjuncti corporibus sumus, mi Cnoxe, tamen minime dubito quin inter nos semper viguerit, et ad extremum vigeat, summa illa animorum conjunctio, unius ejusdemq. spiritus fideique vinculo sancita."

Note HH. p. 235.

"Les Papistes (says Bayle, in a treatise in which he pleads for toleration on a very extensive basis) "Les Papistes eux memes sont les premiers en ce pais-ci a crier qu'il n'y a rien de plus injuste que de vexer la consience. Pensée ridicule en leur bouche! et non seulement ridicule, mais traitresse. &c. i. e. The Papists themselves are the first in this country [Britain,] to exclaim that there is nothing more unjust than to distress conscience. A sentiment ridiculous in their mouth! and not only ridiculous, but treacherous, and marked with that dishonesty which they have uniformly discovered for so many ages. For they would not fail, in three years, to burn and butcher all who refused to go to mass, if they acquired the power, and could avail themselves of the baseness of a sufficient number of court parasites, men of venal souls and unworthy of the protestant name which they bear, to overturn the fundamental barriers which so salutarily restrain the royal power." *Commentaire Philosophique*, Pref. p. xiii. xiv. Anno 1686.

The following passage is now become so antiquated and unin-

intelligible, that I shall not risk my credit by venturing to translate it. "Les malheurs qui sont arrivez a nos freres de France tourneront, comme il y a aparence, a notre profit. Il nous ont remis dans la necessaire defiance du Papisme, ils nous ont fait voir que cette fausse religion ne s'amende pas par le long age, qu'elle est toujours, comme au tems jadis, animée de l'esprit de fourbe et de cruauté, et que malgré la politesse, l'honnêteté, la civilité, qui regne dans les manières de ce siècle plus qu'en aucun autre, elle est toujours brutale et farouche. Chose étrange! tout ce qu'il y avoit de grossier dans les mœurs de nos ancêtres s'est évanoui; à cet air rustique et sauvage des vieux tems a succédé par tout l'Europe Chrétienne une douceur et une civilité extrême: Il n'y a que le Papisme qui ne se sent point du changement, et qui retient toujours son ancienne et habituelle féroce. Nous nous imaginions nous autres [entre?] Anglois, que c'étoit une bête apprivoisée, un loup et un tigre qui avoit oublié son naturel sauvage; mais Dieu merci aux Convertisseurs de France nous nous sommes desabusez, et nous savons à qui nous aurions à faire si notre sort étoit entre leurs mains.—Pesons bien cela et considérons quel malheur nous pendroit sur la tête, si nous laissions croître le Papisme dans ce bien heureux climats. Je ne veux pas que cela nous porte à faire aucunes représailles sur les papistes; non je deteste ces imitations; je souhaite seulement qu'ils n'acquiescent pas la force d'exécuter sur nous ce qu'ils savent faire." *Ut supra*, xv. xviii. xix.

Note II. p. 251.

The following extracts from the Records of the Town Council of Edinburgh shew the attention which they paid to the support and accommodation of their minister.

May 8, 1560. The provost, baillies, and council ordain the treasurer to pay the sum of 40*l.* Scots for furnishing of the minister John Knox in his household, and because he had been furnished on David Forrester's expenses since his coming to this town, for the space of fifteen days, ordains to receive David's accompts, and make payment.—"Penultimò Octobris 1560. The quhiik day, the provost, baillies, and counsaill ordanis James Barroun to pay to John Knox the souldme of sax seoir pounds of the reddest money of the souldmes being in his hands, and sioklyk the souldme of 20*l.*"—This last sum seems to have been allotted for repairs on his house.—"12th Dec. 1560. The provost, baillies, and counsaill ordanis James Barroun (Dean of Guild of last year) to pay and deliver to John Knox, minister, the souldme of fiftie



pound for supporting of his charges, and that incontinent after the sight heirof, and gif it beis funden that the said James be superexpendit, after the making of his accompt, precepts shall be given in maist strait forme, commanding the treasurer to mak him gud and thankfull payment of his haill superexpensis, within aught days nixt thairafter." From the minutes of Dec. 22, 1560. April 5, and May 28, 1561, it appears that his fixed stipend was 200*l.* a-year; for 50*l.* is ordered, each time, "for his quarter payment" or "dues." Dec. 14, 1560, it was agreed that his house rent should afterwards be paid "at the rate of 15 merks a year."

"Penultimo Octobris (1561.) The samine day the provost, baillies, and counsail ordanis the Dene of Gyld, with all diligence, to mak ane warme stuydye of dailles to the minister, Johne Knox, within his hous, abone the hall of the same, with lyght and wyndokis thereunto, and all uther necessaris: and the expenceiss disbursit be him salbe allowit to him in his accomptis."—"January 1561, (*i. e.* 1562,) the provost, baillies, and counsalle, understanding that the minister, Jhone Knox, is requyrit be the hale kirk to passe in the partis of Anguss and Mearnys, for electing of ane superintendent thare, to the quhilk they themselves hes grantit, thairfor ordains Alexander Guthrie, Dene of Gild, to pass in companie with him for furnishing of the said ministeris charges, and to deburse and pay the same of the readeast of the townis gudis in his handis, quhilk salbe allowit in his accomptis: And further haist the said minister hame, that the kirk hear be not desolait."

To these extracts respecting Knox, I may add one from the same records respecting Willock, who officiated in his place as minister of Edinburgh, during the civil war. "29 August 1560. The counsail ordains their treasurer to deliver to John Willock 22 crownes of the sone for recompense of the great traveill sustentit be him this haill yiere bygane, in preching and administring the sacramentis within this burgh, and ordanis ane of the counsall to thank him for his greit benevolence, and for the greit travaill forsaid." Previous to this they had remunerated John Cairns, with whom that minister had lodged.

In the text I have mentioned, that, after the arrangement made by the privy council respecting the thirds of benefices, Knox seems to have received his stipend from the common fund. The extracts which Keith has given from the books of assignation mention only two allowances made to him. "To John Knox, minister, Wheat 2 c. [holders,] bear 6 c. meal o. oats 4 c." Whether this was for the year 1563. or not, Keith does not say. He adds in a

note, "For the year 1568, I see 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* given to Mr. Knox." History, App. 188. His stipend at the time of his death has been mentioned above, p. 393, 394. Keith has inserted, from the same books, the prices of the principal articles of living at that time, from which an idea of the value of money may be formed. Ibid. 189. The following are a specimen. In Fyfe, Lothian, Merse and Teviotdale, for 1573, wheat, 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the chalder; bear, 21*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*; meal, 16*l.* oats, 20 merks. Or, according to another account, without expressing any county, wheat, 1*l.* the boll; bear, 1*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; meal the same; oats, 10*s.* malt, 2*l.*; rye, and pease and beans, the same; mairts of Aberdeen 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* the piece; sheep, 9*s.* poultry, 4*s.* the dozen; geese 1*s.* the piece; cheese 6*s.* 8*d.* the stone.

Note KK. p. 255.

"10 April 1562.—The same day the counsale understanding the tedious and havye labours sufferit be the minister, Jhone Knox, in preiching thrise in the oulk, and twise on Sounday, ordains with ane consent to solist and persuade Maister Jhone Craig, presentlie minister of the Canongait, to accept upoun him the half chargis of the preaching of the said kirk of Edinburgh for sic gud deid as thai can aggre on."—That this measure was not carried into effect for some time after, appears from the following act of council. "18th June 1563.—After lang reasoning upon the necessities of ministers, finds that there salbe ane uther minister elected be the provost, baillies and counsale, dekyne and elderis of this burgh, and addit to Johne Knox, minister." From the same act and subsequent measures, it is evident that the want of necessary funds was the cause of the delay. For the council resolved, that "for susteaning of thame baith, togidder with Johne Cairns reider," the deacons should meet with the trades, and the merchants, to see what they would be willing to give. The reports made to the council did bear, that if they would fix a particular stipend, the trades were willing to pay a *fifth* of it, according to old custom. But although Craig had not been translated from the Canongate, he seems to have performed a part of the duty in Edinburgh; for, in the same month, I find the council appointing a number of persons "to go amang the faithfull who had communicate" and make a collection for "Johne Craig and Johne Cairns, who had received nothing for a lang tyme." This expedient they were obliged afterwards to repeat. On the 26 September, 1564, the council had agreed to give "to John Cairns, lector of morning prayeris, 100 merks a year, in tyme to cum." Records of Town Council.

Note LL. p. 257.

Very different and opposite accounts have been given of the book usually called *Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism*. The following is drawn up from the catechism itself, compared with the canon of the council which authorized it. It does not appear by whom it was composed, but we may readily conclude that it was by some person or persons who had more knowledge of theology than there is any reason to think the archbishop had, and who had more leisure than him to write a book consisting of 412 pages quarto. It was laid before the provincial council, which met at Edinburgh in January 1551-2, and was adopted and approved by them. The care of printing it was committed to the archbishop, to whom it properly belonged as metropolitan to set it forth; and the colophon at the end of the work informs us that it was printed by his "command and expensis."—"the XXIX. day of August, the yeir of our Lord MD.LII." Spottiswood (p. 92,) has confounded it with a treatise, called by the people *The Twa-penny Faith*, which Knox informs us was set forth by the provincial council which was sitting when he returned to Scotland, in 1559. *Historie*, p. 109, 110. The archbishop's epistle to "Personis, Vicars, and Curattis," prefixed to the catechism, informs us of its design and use. "First to your awin instruction.—Secondly, According to the decreit maid in our provincial counsale, our will is that ye reid the samyn catechisme diligently, distinctly, and plainly ilk ane of yow to your awin parochianaris, for thair common instructioun and spiritual edificatioun in the word of God, necessarie of thame to be knawin." The canon provides that it be read, "omnibus dominicis et festivis," which is thus explained in the close of the archbishop's epistle: "Everilk sonday and principal halydaie, quhen yair cummis na preeheour to thame to schaw thame the word of God to have yis catechisme usit and reid to thame insteid of preching, quhil [until] God of his gudnes provide ane sufficient nowmer of catholyk and abil preeheouris, quhilk sal be withen few yeiris as we traist in God." The clergy were aroused from their lethargy and indolence, by the preaching of the protestants, and the complaints of the people. But those whose province it was to preach, were found generally incapable of performing the task. This book was therefore provided for them, that they might read it to the people instead of a sermon.

As it is entitled a catechism, was printed in the vulgar language, is said to be designed for the instruction of the people, and no prohibition of its use is mentioned in the book itself, we might



be apt to conclude, that it was intended to be circulated among the people, and promiscuously read. But this was very far from being the design of those who approved and set it forth. On the contrary, the canon of the council expressly provides, "That all the copies not required for the use of the clergy be kept in safe custody (*firma custodia*) by the archbishop," that he might distribute them, "prout tempus et necessitas postulaverint." The clergy are charged not to communicate their copies to secular persons, except with the allowance of their ordinaries (the bishops,) who were permitted to give copies to certain honest, grave, faithful, and discreet laics, especially such as seemed to desire them for the sake of instruction rather than out of curiosity. "Caveant vero ipsi rectores, vicarii, et curati, ne sua exemplaria secularibus quibuscunque indiscrete communicent, nisi ex judicio, consilio, et discretione sui ordinarii; quibus ordinariis licebit nonnullis probis, gravibus, bonæ fidei, ac discretis viris laicis, ejusdem catechismi exemplaria communicari, et iis potissimum, qui videbuntur potius suæ instructionis causa, quam curiositatis ejuscunque, eadem expetere." Wilkins, *Concilia*, IV. 72, and Lord Hailes, *Provincial Councils*, p. 36. Lord Hailes had therefore reason for saying (in opposition to Mackenzie's tale of the archbishop allowing "the pedlars to take two pennies for their pains in hawking it abroad") that the council "uses, as many precautions to prevent it from coming into the hands of the laity, as if it had been a book replete with the most pestilent heresy." It would have been imprudent to insert the prohibition in the book itself, copies of which, notwithstanding all their caution, would come into the hands of improper persons; but the canon of the council remained the rule for regulating the clergy in the use of it. Nor is there any thing in the catechism which is inconsistent with the canon, or which implies that it was to come into the hands of the people. It is all along supposed that they were to be instructed by *hearing*, not by *reading* it. This is particularly evident from the concluding address. "O christin pepil we exhort yow with all diligence, *heir*, understand, and keep in your remembrance, the halie wordis of God, quhilk in this present catechisme ar trewly and catholykly exponit to your spiritual edification." And again: "Gif ye persaisf be frequent *heiring* heiroyf your self spiritually instructit mair than ye haif bein in tymes bygane, geve the thankis thairof only to God." Fol. cevi. If any of the hearers moved any controversy about its contents, he was to be delivered up to the *Inquisitors*. Wilkins, *ut supra*, p. 73.

Lord Hailes has animadverted on Keith for saying that the author of the catechism shews "his wisdom and moderation, in *handsomely eviting* to enter upon the controverted points," and he has given extracts from it asserting the doctrine of transubstantiation, the propriety of withholding the cup from the laity, and of prayers to the saints. Provincial Councils, *ut supra*, p. 35, 36. The use of images in worship, purgatory, prayers for the dead, the removal of original sin by baptism, the sinlessness of concupiscence after baptism, the mystical signification of the ceremonies practised in that ordinance, the exorcism, or blowing upon the child at the church door, and making the sign of the cross on its brow and breast, putting salt into its mouth, anointing its nostrils and ears with spittle, and its breast and back with oil, with the application of chrism to the forehead, the clothing of it with the cude or white linen cloth, and putting a lighted torch or candle into its hand; these, with other doctrines and ceremonies of the popish church, are all stated and vindicated. At the same time, while the opinions peculiar to popery are stated and defended, there is an evident design of turning away the attention of the people from these controversies, as to which they are often reminded of their duty to "belief as the haly catholic kirk believis," and a great part of the book is occupied in declaring duties and general doctrines, about which there was no question. Considerable art is also used by introducing some of the most exceptionable articles of popery under the cover of unquestionable truths. Thus under the question, "Quhat thing suld move us to belief the word of God?" The first reason which is given is, "Ye eternal and infallible verite of God, fra quhom na lesing may proceede, na mair than myrknes may cum fra the cleir schenand some." But how gradually and artfully are the people led away from the scriptures in what follows! "The secund thing that suld move us to belief the word of God, quhilk ar the haly bukis quharin the word of God is contenit, and quhat is the true sence of the same bukis, is ye consent and autoritie of our mother the haly kirk, fra the apostils tyme hitherto, and specially quhen it is lawfully gadderit be the haly spirit in ane general counsel, quharof saint Augustine sais thus: 'I wald nocht gif credence to the evangel, except that the universal kirk warnis me sa to do.' And thairfor leir thir twa lessonis. The ane is, quhatsoevir the haly spirit revelis and schawis to us, other in the bukis of haly scripture, or in the determinatiouns and diffinitounis of general counsilles, lawfully gadderit for the corroboracion and maintenans of our faith, we suld beleif ye same to be

the trew word of God, and thairto gif ferme credens as to the verite that is infallible. The secund lesson, ye that ar simple and unleirnit men and women suld expressly belief al the artickils of your Crede, as for al uther hie misteries and matteris of the scripture ye aucht to beleif generally as the kirk of God beleiffis. And this faith is sufficient to you, for the perfectioun of that faith quhilk ye ar bund to haif." Fol. xiiii. b. xv. a. A specimen of the same kind occurs on the question, How is the true sense of the scripture to be discerned? where after being gravely taught the usefulness of the collation of one place with another, and the connexion of the passage, the people are told that this belongs to those who have the gift called *interpretatio sermonum*, and are then devoutly set down at the feet of the doctors of the church, and taught implicitly to receive the decisions of councils. "Quarfor, he that will nocht heir, resaif, and obey the diffinitionis and determinationis of lauchful general counsellis concerning materis of our faith, he is nocht to be accountit a true Christin man, according to the wordis of our salviour, 'Gif he will nocht hear the kirk, lat him be to the as ane infidele, unchristinit, and ane publican.' Thus ye haif quha is an herityk, and how he brekis the first command." Fol. xviii. b. xix.

As all who question the infallible decisions of the church are pronounced guilty of a breach of the first commandment, the Roman Catholics are, with no less ease, exculpated from a breach of the second, by throwing in a convenient parenthesis. The reader will observe, that, according to a division of the law first countenanced by Augustine, and of which the popish church is extremely fond, the first and second commandments are thrown into one, and, to make up the number, the tenth is divided into two; although the compilers of the Catechism found it impracticable to keep to this last division in their explication. The following is their enunciation of the first commandment, "I am the Lord thi God, quhilk hais brocht ye fra the land of Egypt, fra the house of bondage. Thou sall haif na other goddis but me, thou sall nocht mak to thee (*as gods*) ony gravit ymage, nother ony similitude of ony thing that is in the hevin above, or in the erd beneth, nor of ony thing that is in the watter under the erd. Thou sall nocht adorne yame uor worship yame (*as goddis*." Fol. xii. a. It is fair, however, to hear the explication which the authors of the Catechism give respecting images. "Ar ymages aganis the first command? Na, sa thai be weil usit. Quhat is the rycht use of ymagis? Imagis to be made na haly writ forbiddis, (says venerabil Bede) for the sycht of thame, especially of the erucifixe giffis greit compunction to thame quhilk behaldis it with faith in



Christ, and to thame yat are unletterat, it giffis a quik remembrance of the passion of Christ. Salomon in time of his wisdom, nocht without the inspiration of God, made ymagis in the temple. Moyses the excellent prophet and trew servand of God, made and creekit a brassin ymage of a serpent, (quhilk figurit the lifyng up of our salviour Jesus Christe upon the crosse) and als be the command of God, causit mak the imagis of twa angellis callit Cherubinis, quhilk thing thir twa sa excellent men in wisdom wald nevir haif done, gif the makin of imagis war aganis the command of God.—Bot utterly yis command forbiddis to mak ymagis to that effeck, that thai suld be adornit and wirschippit as goddis, or with ony godly honour, ye quhilk sentence is expremitt bi thir wordis: Non adorabis ea neq. coles. Thou shall nocht adorne thame nor wirschip thame as goddis. Now we suld nocht gif goddis honour, or Christis honour to ony ymage, bot to God allanerly, representit be ane ymage.” Fol. xxiii. b.

In the explication of the fifth article of the Creed, is a particular account of the four places in hell; *infernus damnatorum, puerorum, purgandorum, et patrum*. The following proof is given of our Saviour’s descent into hell, to deliver the saints who had been confined in the last mentioned place until the time of his death. “Also the same deliverance was prophesit bi the prophet Osee: Ero mors tua, o mors, ero morsus tuus o inferne. *O dede* (sais our salviour) *I sall be thy dede—O hel I sal byte the*. The man yat bytes ony thing, he takis part to him, and lattis part remane behind. Sa our salviour passand doune to hel, he fulfyllit this prophesie, takand part of saulis out fra hell with him, and lieffand part behind him. Quhom tuk he with him? bot thame that was haly and gud, quhilk was haldin thair as presonaris.” Fol. cviii. Upon the whole, this Catechism has been written with great care, and the style is by no means bad. It is singular that it should have been so little noticed at that time. I have not observed that it is mentioned by any of the writers of that age, either Popish or Protestant. This might induce us to conclude that it was very little used, even in the way directed by the canon of the provincial council.

After the particular account which I have given of the preceding work, it is not necessary to add large extracts from the *Compendious Tractive* of Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel. Having quoted John V. 39, he says: “Marke (gude redare) the Scripture to occupy the place of anc wytnes, and not the place of ane juge.” A. iiij. In a posterior part of the work, he seems disposed to qualify what he had stated respecting the church being judge of all matters in religion, “We never say in all our lytle tractive, that

the kirk is juge to the Scripture, bot yat the kirk is juge to discern quhilk is the trew scripture of God, and to mak manifest to the congregation the trew understanding of the samyn." H. v. This explication does not mend the matter; for certainly he who has the power of calling what witnesses he pleases, and of putting what sense he pleases upon their testimony, is to all intents and purposes the judge of the witnesses, as well as the pannel. The abbot repeatedly testifies the great reluctance with which he was compelled to prove his principles, by persons who were "swa religious and elene fyngerit, that thair wil na thing perswade thaim without testimony of Scripture." He gives this easy advice to those whose consciences were distressed with the "barbour and commoun" sayings of the Protestants, implying that every Christian should be satisfied in his own mind, as to the doctrines of Scripture. "All Christin men havand ane generale understanding of the articles of our faith (conforme to the understanding that the kirk hes teacheit ws;) the ten commandments, the prayer of the Lord callit the *Pater noster*. It suffices to thame to quhame it does not appertene of thair office nor vocatioun, to occupy the place of the prechairis or techearis in the congregatioun. As to the sacramentis, and all uther secretis of the Scripture, stand to the jugement of thy pasture, without curious ressoning or cersing of the secretis of Godis word, quha beiris thy burding in all materis doutsum abone thy knowlege, conforme to the saying of the apostle, 'Obey unto your superioris, &c.' And in cais they be negligent, ressave doctryne of the kirk, as the tyme teicheis ws. Be this way (quhilk is conforme to Godis word and al veritie) it sal be asie to all men, quhat place or estait in the congregatioun that ever he occupy, to beir his awin burding." *Ane Compendius Tractive*, &c. D. vii.

In p. 259, I mentioned it as probable that the book which George Hay published on the sacrament of the supper was an answer to Kennedy's treatise on that subject. That it was so, appears from Ames, *Typographical Antiquities*, vol. iii. p. 1487.

Note MM. p. 268.

In the prologue to the Reasoning betwixt Jo. Knox and the abbot of Crossraguel, Knox adverts to the cavils of the papists against the validity of the call of the reformed ministers, and intimates his intention of returning an answer to the questions on this head which had been proposed to him by Ninian Winget, the *Procurator for the Papists*. There are some general remarks on this subject in his answer to Tyrie's Letter, but I do not think that he ever published any thing professedly on the point.

There is a ridiculous tale told by a popish writer concerning a pretended convention among the reformed ministers in Scotland to determine in what manner they should proceed in the admission of ministers. Willock proposed as a weighty difficulty, that if they used imposition of hands, or any other ceremony usually practised in the church, they would be asked to shew that they themselves had been admitted by the same ceremonies, and thus the lawfulness of their vocation would be called in question. "Johann kmnox ansuerit maist resolutelie, *Buf, buf, man, we anes entered, let se quha dar put us out agane*; meaning that thair was not sa monie gunnis and pistollis in the countrie to put him out as was to intrud him with violence. Sua Johann kmnox, to his awin confusion, entered not in the kirk be ordinar vocatione or imposition of handis, but be imposition of *bullatis and pouldir in culringis and lang gunnis*; sua ye mister not to troubil you farder in seiking out of Johann kmnox vocatione."—This story "I understude (says the author) of ane nobil and honorabil man, quha can yit beir witnes gif I lea or not." But he takes care not to give the name of the nobleman. Nicol Burne's Disputation, p. 129. Parise, 1581.

Note NN. p. 269.

The order prescribed by the General Assembly for the public repentance of Paul Methven was, that he should appear at the church-door of Edinburgh, when the second bell rang for worship, clad in sackcloth, bare-headed and bare-footed; should stand there until the public prayers were over, after which he should be brought into the church to hear the sermon, during which he was to be "placeit in the publick speetakell above the people." This appearance he was to make on three preaching-days, and on the last (which was to be a Sabbath-day,) after sermon he was to profess his sorrow before the people, and request their forgiveness; which being done he was to be again "clad in his awin apparell," and received into the society of the church. He was to go through the same course at Dundee and Jedburgh, in both which places he had acted as a minister. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 23. Keith, 559, 560. This form of satisfaction was appointed for all who had been excommunicated for murder, adultery, incest, or other aggravated crimes. The murderer was to bear in his hand "the same or lyke weapoun whair-with the murther was committit." Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 38. The other rules observed in cases of discipline may be seen in Knox's Liturgy, p. 55--67. edition, 1644, and in Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 704--756. Impartiality, as well as severity, dis-



tinguished the discipline of these times. “*Gryt men offending in sick crymes as deserves seekelaith, they suld receave the same als weill as the pure.*—Na superintendant nor commissioner, with advyee of any particuler kirk of yair jurisdiction, may dispense with the extreamitie of sackcloth, prescrivit be the actes of the generall discipline, for any pecuniall sum or paine ad pios usus.” Ibid. ad August 1573. Dunlop, ii. 753. This was not a mere theoretic proposition. For in 1563 we find the lord Treasurer making public satisfaction (Keith 245, 529;) in 1567, the countess of Argyle (Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 37;) and in 1568, the bishop of Orkney (Anderson’s Collections, ii. 284.) Let not our modern *fashionables* and great ones be alarmed at hearing of such things. These days are gone, and will not, it is likely, soon return.

It is a mistake, however, to represent the ecclesiastical courts as inflicting corporal punishments upon offenders. The parliament, or the magistracy of particular burghs, enacted punishments of this kind against certain crimes which were ordinarily tried in the church courts. Some of these existed before the reformation, and some of them were posterior to it; but the infliction, as well as the enacting of them, pertained to the civil magistrate. Knox, p. 269. The following extract will explain the occasion of the mistake, and the true state of the case. “What you bring (says Mr. Baillie in his answer to bishop Maxwell) of pecuniary mulcts, imprisonments, banishments, jogges, cutting of haire, and such like, it becomes neither you to charge, nor us to be charged with any such matters: No church-assembly in Scotland assumes the least degree of power, to inflict the smallest civill punishment upon any person; the Generall Assembly it selfe hath no power to fine any creature so much as in one groat: It is true, the lawes of the land, appoint pecuniary mulcts, imprisonment, joggs, pillories, and banishment for some odious crimes, and the power of putting these laws in execution is placed by the parliament in the hands of the inferior magistrates in burroughs or shires, or of others to whom the counsel table gives a speciall commission for that end; ordinarily some of these civill persons are ruling elders, and sit with the eldership: So when the eldership have cognosed upon the *scandall* alone of criminall persons, and have used their spirituall censures only to bring the party to repentance, some of the ruling elders, by vertue of their civill office or commission, will impose a mulct, or send to prison or stocks, or banish out of the bounds of some little circuit, according as the acts of parliament or counsell do appoint it. But that the eldership should

employ its ecclesiastick and spirituall power for any such end, none of us doe defend. That either in Scotland or any where else in the world the haire of any person is commanded to be cut by any church judicatory for disgrace and punishment, is (as I take it) but a foolish fable. That any person truly penitent is threatened in Scotland, with church censures for non-payment of monies, is in the former category of calumnies." *Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland*, p. 17, 18. Lond. 1646. I have in my possession (extracted from the records of a kirk-session) a commission, granted in 1701, by the sheriffe-depute of Berwickshire, constituting one of the elders *session-baillie*, for executing the laws against prophaneness, agreeably to an act of parliament authorizing the appointment of such an officer in parishes within which no ordinary magistrate resided.

Note OO. p. 281.

The whole account which Mr. Hume has given of the conduct of the protestant clergy towards Mary, from her arrival in Scotland until her marriage with Darnly, is very remote from sober and genuine history. It is rather a satire against the reformation, which he charges with rebellion; the presbyterian church, whose genius he describes as essentially productive of fanaticism and vulgarity; and his native country, the inhabitants of which, without exception, he represents as over-run with rusticity, strangers to the arts, to civility, and the pleasures of conversation. *History, Reign of Eliz. chap. i. near the close.* "Il n'est rien de plus facile quand on a beaucoup d'esprit, et beaucoup d'experience dans l'art de faire des livres, que de composer une *Histoire satyrique*, des meme faits qui ont servi a faire une *Eloge*. Deux lignes supprimée, ou *pour ou contre*, dans l'exposition d'un fait, sont capables de faire paroistre une homme ou fort innocent, ou fort coupable: et comme par la seule transposition de quelques mots on peut faire d'un discours fort saint un discours impie; de meme par la seule transposition de quelques circonstances, l'on peut faire de l'action la plus criminelle, l'action la plus vertueuse." Bayle, *Critique Generale l'Histoire du Calvinisme*, p. 43. 2 de edition, 1683. This is a charge to which the Historian of England has exposed himself on more than one occasion.

I cannot here expose all his mistatements in the passage to which I have referred. He keeps out of view the fixed resolution of the queen to re-establish the Romish religion, with all the perils to which the Protestants were exposed. He artfully introduces his narrative, by placing her proclamation against altering the Protestant religion before the symptoms of popular discontent

at her setting up mass; whereas the proclamation was emitted after these, and perhaps would never have appeared, had it not been found necessary to allay the apprehensions of the people. Knox, 285. Keith, 504, 505. As a proof that the preachers "took a pride in vilifying, even to her face, this amiable princess," he gives extracts from an address to her by the general assembly, without ever hinting that this was merely a draught; that every offensive expression was erased from it; and that, when it was presented by the superintendents of Lothian and Fife, the queen said, "Here are many fair words; I cannot tell what the hearts are." Knox, 315. Mr. H. goes on to say: "The ringleader in all these insults on Majesty, was John Knox.—His usual appellation for the queen, was *Jezebel*." This is a mistake. Neither in his sermons, nor in his prayers, nor in conversation, did he give this appellation to Mary, as long as she was queen; but always honoured her before the people, as well as in her own presence, even when he lamented and condemned her errors. Afterwards, indeed, when for her crimes (of which no man was more convinced than Mr. H.) she was removed from the government, and he no longer acknowledged her as his sovereign, he did apply this name to her. It is so far from being true, that "the whole life of Mary was, from the demeanour of these men, filled with bitterness and sorrow," or that she "was curbed in all amusements by the absurd severity of these reformers," that she retained her "gaiety and ease," until by her imprudent marriage with Darnley, she with her own hands planted thorns under her pillow; while the preachers were most free in their sermons, she enjoyed all manner of liberty; her mass was never taken from her; she was allowed to indulge her "feasting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their necessary attendant;" nor was she ever interrupted in these amusements, except when her own husband deprived her of her favourite Italian fidler, a loss for which she afterwards took ample vengeance. It is difficult to conceive how one acquainted with the history of that period, and the character of the queen, could impute the "errors of her subsequent conduct" to the "harsh and preposterous usage which she met with" from the reformers. Nor can there be a greater scire upon the general character of Mary, (previous to her first marriage) than to say, that "she found every moment reason to regret her leaving that country, from whose manners she had, in her early youth, received the first impressions." It is well known that the court at which she received her education was most dissolute; and the supposition that she carried away the innocent polish and refinement of their manners, without contracts



ing their criminal contagion, is not only incredible, but contradicted by the confessions of her friends. *Memoires de Castelnau, augmentez par J. le Laboureur, Prieur de Juvigné, tom. i. p. 528. A Bruxelles, 1731.* I have no desire however to dip into the subject, nor to draw forth to light facts unfavourable to that princess; although the unwarranted and persevering attacks which have been made upon worthy men, with the view of reconciling the “future conduct” of Mary, with “the general tenor of her character,” would justify greater freedoms than have been lately used in this way.

“We are too apt to figure to ourselves the reformers of that age, as persons of impolitic and inflexible austerity.” This is the remark of one who was much better acquainted with their history than Mr. Hume. Lord Hailes’ *Historical Mem. of the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy*, p. 41. Comp. Knox, *Historie*, p. 310. See also, in addition to the facts already produced in this work, what is contained in Note AAA.

Mr. Hume’s object, in the passage upon which I have animadverted, was to blacken the reformers, rather than to exalt the queen, of whose character he had at bottom no great opinion. “Tell Goodall (says he, in a letter to Dr. Robertson) that if he can but give up queen Mary, I hope to satisfy him in every thing else; and he will have the pleasure of seeing John Knox, and the reformers, made very ridiculous.” Indeed, he confessed to his confidential friends, that he had, in his history, drawn the character of that princess in too favourable colours. “I am afraid, (says he to the same correspondent) that you, as well as myself, have drawn Mary’s character with too great softenings. She was undoubtedly a violent woman *at all times*.” *Stewart’s Life of Robertson*, p. 37, 38. of the separate edition; or as reprinted with the *History of Scotland*, vol. I. p. 25. Lond. 1809.

Note PP. p. 283.

“18mo Junii, 1563.—The samyn day in presence of the bailies and counsale, comperit Jhone Gray, scribe to the kirk, and presentit the supplicatione following, in name of the haill kirk, bering that it was laitlie cummen to thair knowlege bi the report of faythfull bretherins, that within thir few dayis Eufame Dundas, in the presenee of ane multitude, had spokin divers injurious and selandarous wordis, baith of the doctrine and ministeris. And in especiall of Jhone Knox, minister, sayand, that within few dayis past, the said Jhone Knox was apprehendit and tane furth of ane killogye with ane commoun hure; and that he had bene ane commone harlot all his dayis. Quhairfore it was maist hum

blie desyrit that the said Eufane myt be callit and examinat upone the said supplicatione, and gif the wordis abone writtin, spokin bi hir, myt be knawin or tryit to be of veritie, that the said Jhone Knox myt be punist with all rigour without favour: otherwyse to tak sic ordour with hir as myt stand with the glory of God, and that selander myt be takin from the kirk. As at mair length is contenit in the said supplication. Quhilk beand red to the said Eufane, personallie present in jugement, *scho denyit the samyn*, and Fryday the 25 day of Junii instant assignit to hir to here and see witnes producit for preving of the allegiance abone expremitt, and scho is warnyt apud acta." Records of Town Council of Edinburgh. of the above date.

The minute of the 25th contains the account of the proof which Knox's procurator led to shew that Eufame Dundas had uttered the scandal which she now denied, and the appointment that the parties should be "*warnit literatorie* to hear sentence given in the said action." I have not observed any thing more respecting the cause in the minutes, and it is probable, that the reformer, having obtained the vindication of his character, prevailed on the judges not to inflict punishment on the accuser.

Note QQ. p. 284.

"C'est rendre sans doute (says Bayle) quelques service a la moire de Jean Knox, que de fair voir les extravagances de ceux qui ont dechire sa reputation." And, having referred to the "gross and extravagant slanders" of one writer, he adds, "this alone is a sufficient prejudice against all which the Roman Catholic writers have published concerning the great Reformer of Scotland." Diet. art. Knox. If Mons. Bayle could speak in this manner upon a quotation from one author, what conclusion shall we draw from the following quotations? The first writer who seems to have attacked Knox's character, after his death, was Archibald Hamilton, whose hostility against him was inflamed by a personal quarrel, as well as by political and religious considerations. (See above, p. 345.) His book shews how much he was disposed to recommend himself to the papists by throwing out whatever was most injurious to his former connexions. But there were too many alive at that time to refute any charge which might be brought against the Reformer's moral character. Accordingly, when he aimed the most envenomed thrust at his reputation, Hamilton masked it under the name of an apprehension or surmise. Having said that, upon the death of Edward VI. "he fled to Geneva with a noble and rich lady" (which by the

bye is also a falsehood) he adds in a parenthesis "*qua simul et filia matris pellice familiariter usus fuisse putabatur.*" De Confusione Calvinianæ Seetæ, p. 65, a. Parisiis 1577. What Hamilton insinuated as a mere surmise, his successors soon converted into undoubted certainty. A few years after we find one of them writing in the following terms: Johnne Kmnox your first apostel, quha caused ane young woman in my lord Ochiltreis place fal almaist dead, becaus she saw his maister Satthan in ane black manniss likenese with him, throuche ane bore of the dure: quha was also ane manifest adulterare bringand furth of Ingland baith the mother and the dochter whom he persuadit that it was lesum to leve her housband, [See p. 196, 197,] and adhere unto him, making ane fleshe of himself, the mother, and the dochter, as if he wald conjoyne in ane religione, the auld synagogue of the Jenis with the new fundat kirk of the Gentiles." In another place he introduces the account of his second marriage with these words: "That renegat and perjurit priest schir Johane Kmnox, quha efter the death of his first harlot, quhilk he mareit incurring eternal damnation be breking his vou and promiss of chastitie, quhen his age requyrit rather that with tearis and lamentations he sould have chastised his flesh and bewailit the breaking of his vou, as also the horribil incest with his gudmother in ane *killogie* of Haddingtoun." Burne's Disputation concerning the Controversit Headdis of Religion, p. 102, 143. Parise, 1581. But the two former writers were outstripped in calumny by that most impudent of all liars, James Laing, who published in Latin, during the same year in which the last mentioned work appeared, an account of the lives and manners of the heretics of his time. There are few pages of his book in which he does not rail against our Reformer; but in (what he calls) his Life, he may justly be said to have exceeded any thing which personal malice, or religious rancour, ever dictated. "*Statim (says he) ab initio suæ pueritiæ omni genere turpissimi facinoris infectus fuit. Vix exeeserat jam ex ephebis, cum patris sui uxorem violarat, suam novercam vitiat, et eum ea, cui reverentia potissimum adhibenda fuerat, nefarium stuprum fecerat.*" His bishop having, forsooth, called him to account for these crimes, he straightway became inflamed with the utmost hatred to the Catholic religion. "*Deinde non modo cum profanis, sed etiam cum quibuscunque secleratissimis, perditissimis, et potissimum omnium hæreticus est versatus, et quousque erat immanior, secleratio, crudelior, eo ei carior et gravior fuit.*—Ne unum quidem diem secleratissimus hæreticus sine una et item altera meretrice traducere potuit.—Continuo cum tribus meretricibus, quæ videbantur posse sufficere uni sacerdoti,



in Scotia convolat.—Ceterum hic lascivus eaper, quem assidue sequebatur lasciva capella, partim perpetuis crapulis, partim vino, lustrisque ita confectus fuit, ut quotiescunq. conscenderet suggestum ad maledicendum, velim precandum suis, opus erat illi duobus aut tribus viris, a quibus elevandus atq. sustendendus erat.” *De Vita et Moribus atque Rebus Gestis Hæreticorum nostri temporis.* Authore Jacobo Laingæo Scoto Doctore Sorbonico, fol. 113, b. 114, a, b. 115, a. Parisiis. 1581. *Cum Privilegio.* Nor were such accounts confined to that age. As late as 1628, we find *Father Alexander Baillie* repeating, in the English language, all the gross tales of his predecessors, with additions of his own, in which he shews a total disregard to the best known facts in the Reformer’s life. “Jhone Knox (says he) being chaplane to the laird of Balvurie, and accused for his vices and leecherie, was found so guiltie and culpable that to eschevie the just punishment prepared for him he presently fled away in to Ingland.” He afterwards says, that, after the death of his second wife [that is, twenty years at least after his own death,] Knox “shamefully fell in the abominable vice of incestuous adultery, as *Archb. Hamilton and others* doe witnesse;” and as a proof that Knox reckoned this vice no blot, he puts into his mouth a defence of it, in the very words which Sanders, in his book against the Anglican Schism, had represented Sir Francis Brian as using in a conversation with Henry VIII. Baillie’s *True Information* of the unhallowed Offspring, Progress, and impositi’d Fruits of our Scottish-Calvinian Gospel and Gospellers, p. 44, 41. Wirtsburgh, 1628.

It is evident that these outrageous and contradictory calumnies have been all grafted upon the convicted lie mentioned in the preceding note, and on the malignant surmise insinuated by Archibald Hamilton. The characters of the foreign reformers were traduced in the very same manner by the popish writers. Those who have seen Bolsec’s *Lives of Calvin and Beza*, or others of the same kidney, will be sufficiently convinced of this. Will it be believed that, in the middle of the seventeenth century, a book should have been published under the name of *Cardinal De Rihelieu*, in which it is asserted that “Calvin being condemned for acts of incontinency, which he had carried to the utmost extremity of vice, (ses incontinences qui le porterent jusques aux dernieres extremités du vice) retired from Noyon (his native city) and from the Roman church, at the same time?” And that this should have been published after the cardinal himself had examined the registers of Noyon, which stated facts totally inconsistent with the charge? *La Defence de Calvin*, par Charles

Drelinecourt, p. 10, 11, 33. Geneve, 1667. Our countrymen of the popish persuasion were careful to retail all the calumnies against the foreign reformers, and they do so in a manner almost peculiar to themselves. Nicol Burne most seriously asserts that Luther was begotten of the Devil, as to his carnal as well as his spiritual generation; and in order to prove that this was not impossible, he advances the most profane argument that ever proceeded from the mouth or pen of a Christian. Disputation, ut supra, p. 141. The same thing is asserted by James Laing. De Vita, &c. Hæretic. ut supra, fol. 1. b. In a pretended translation into Scots, of a poem written by Beza in his youth (which the Roman Catholics, after he left their communion, were careful to preserve from oblivion) Burne has unblushingly inserted some scandalous and disgraceful lines, for which he had not the slightest warrant from the original. Disputation, 103, 104. Laing, in his Life of Calvin (of which Senebier has justly said "that it would be impossible to believe that such a libel had been written, if it were not to be seen in print,") has raked together all the base aspersions which had been cast upon that reformer, and has spent a number of pages in endeavouring to shew that he was guilty of *stealing* a sum of money. De Vita, &c. ut supra, fol. 76, b.—79, b. Of Buchanan, whom he calls "*homo sacrarum literarum imperitissimus, simulque impudentissimus,*" he relates a number of impieties, of which this is the last, "*plurimi etiam narrant illum miserrimum hominem quondam in sacro fonte, quo infantes aqua benedicta ablui solent, adsit reverentia dictis, oletum fecisse.*" Ibid. fol. 49, a. One example more may suffice. "*Te admonerem de quodam impio hæretico sacerdote Davidson, quem audiivi his jam multis annis publice aum quadam meretrice scortatum esse, quam fertur peperisse prima nocte, qua cum illa dormivit, quod hic doctores medici pro magno miraculo habent; cum vix mulieres ante nonum mensem, vel octavum parere soleant.*" Ibid. fol. 36, b. 37, a.

Persons must have had their foreheads, as well as their consciences, "seared with a hot iron," before they could publish such things to the world as facts. Yet Laing's book was approved, and declared worthy of publication, by two doctors of the University of Paris. Its grossest slanders against the Scottish reformers were literally copied, and circulated through the continent as undoubted truths, by Reginaldus, Spondanus, Julius Breigerus, and many other foreign popish authors. Each of these added some fabrication of his own; and one of them is so grossly ignorant, as to rail against our reformer by the name of *Noptz Bayle*, Dictionaire, art. Knox, Note G.

I do not wish to insinuate that all the popish writers were of the above description, or that there were not many Roman Catholics, even at that time, who disapproved of the use of such dishonourable and empoisoned weapons ; but the great number of such publications, the circulation which they obtained, and the length of time during which they continued to issue from the popish presses, demonstrate the extent to which a spirit of lying and wanton defamation was carried in the Romish church. And I may safely aver, that no honest and candid person, who is duly acquainted with the writings on both sides, will pretend that this can be accounted for from the hostility and asperity common to both parties.

Note RR. p. 295.

“ Heaving laid aside al feir of the panis of hel, and regarding na thing the honestie of the warld, as ane bund sklave of the Devil, being kendillit with an unquenshible lust and ambition, he durst be sua bauld to interpryse the sute of marriage with the maist honorabil ladie, my ladie Fleming, my lord Duke’s eldest dochter, to the end that his seid being of the blude royal, and gydit be thair father’s spirit, might have aspyrit to the croun. And because he receavit ane refusal, it is notoriouslie knawin how deidlie he haited the hail hous of the Hamiltonis.—And this maist honest refusal would nather stench his lust nor ambition ; bot a lytel efter he did persew to have allynance with the honorabill hous of Ochiltrie of the Kyng’s M. awin blude ; Rydand thair with ane gret court, on ane trim gelding, nocht lyk ane prophet or ane auld decrepit priest, as he was, bot lyk as he had bene ane of the blude royal, with his bendes of taffetie feschnit with golden ringis, and precious stanes : And as is planelie reportit in the countrey, be sorcerie and witeheraftd id sua allure that puir gentil woman, that scho could not leve wethout him : whilk appeiris to be of gret probabilitie scho being ane damssel of nobel blud, and he ane auld decrepit creatur of maist bais degrie of onie that could be found in the countrey : Sua that sik ane nobil hous could not have degenerat sua far, except Johann kmnox had interposed the powar of his maister the Devil, quha as he transfiguris him self sumtymes in an angel of licht : sua he causit Johann kmnox appear ane of the maist nobil and lustie men that could be found in the warld.” Nicol Burne’s Disputation, ut supra, p. 143, 144. But the Devil outwitted himself in his design of raising the progeny of the reformer to the throne of Scotland, if we may believe another popish writer. “For as the common and constant brute of the people reported, as writeth *Reginaldus* [a most



competent witness!] and *others*, it chanced not long after the marriage, that she [Knox's wife] lying in her bed, and perceiving a blak, uglie, il favoured man busily talking with him in the same chamber, was sodainely amazed, that she took seiknes and dyed" [nor does the author want honourable witnesses to support this fact, for he immediately adds:] "as she revealed to two of her friends, being ladyes come thither to visit her a litle before her decease." Father A. Baillie's *True Information*, ut supra, p. 41. It is unfortunate, however, for the credit of this "true information" that the Reformer's wife not only lived to bear him several children, but survived him many years. James owed the safety of his crown to another cause, which we have already had occasion to notice. See above, p. 396.

Note SS. p. 305.

*Christopher Goodman*, from the intimate and long friendship which subsisted between him and our Reformer, deserves more particular notice than has yet been taken of him in this work. He had been a fellow student with Cranmer at Cambridge, and was one of those learned men who, about 1523, were chosen from that university to be removed to the new college erected by Cardinal Wolsey at Oxford. Soon after he was thrown into prison for heresy. He read lectures on Divinity in Oxford during the reign of Edward VI. Strype's *Cranmer*, p. 3. Strype's *Annals*, i. 124. At the accession of Queen Mary, he retired first to Strasburgh, and afterwards to Frankfort. When he was at Strasburgh, he joined in a common letter, advising the exiles of Frankfort to alter as little in the English service as possible; but he became afterwards so much convinced of the propriety of alterations, and was so much offended at the conduct of the Coxian party, that he removed from Frankfort to Geneva, along with those who were of the same sentiments with him, and was chosen by them joint minister with Knox. *Troubles at Franekford*, p. 22, 23, 54, 55, 59.

In 1558, he published the book which afterwards created him a good deal of trouble. Its title is: "How superior powers ought to be obeyd: of their subjects and wherein they may lawfully by God's worde be disobeyed and resisted. Wherin also is declared the cause of all this present miserie in England, and the onely way to remedy the same. By Christopher Goodman. Printed at Geneva by John Crispin. MBLVIII." In this book he subscribed to the opinion respecting female government, which his colleague had published only a few months before. He pronounced the power of kings and magistrates to be limited, and

that they might lawfully be resisted, deposed, and punished by their subjects, if they became tyrannical and wicked. These principles he particularly applied to the government of the English Mary. A copy of verses by William Kethe (who translated some of the Psalms into English metre) is added to the work, of which the following is a specimen.

Whom fury long fostered by suffrance and awe,  
Have right rule subverted, and made will their law,  
Whose pride how to temper, this truth will thee tell;  
So as thou resist may'st, and yet not rebel.

Goodman came to England in 1559, but he found queen Elizabeth so much displeased at his publication, that he kept himself private. Burnet, iii. Append. 274. On this account, and in compliance with the urgent request of our Reformer, he came to Scotland. When the lords of the congregation chose him one of the council for matters of religion, the earl of Arran endeavoured to appease the resentment which the English queen still entertained against him. Sadler, i. 510 511, 532. In 1562, the earl of Warwick repeatedly interceded for him, and for his being recalled from Scotland; "of whom (says he) I have heard suche good commendation both of the lord James of Scotland and others, that it seemeth great pittie, that our countrie should want so worthie and learned an instrument." Forbes's State Papers, ii. 235. Calvin urged Goodman not to leave Scotland until the reformation was completely established. Epist. 566. Hannoviæ, 1597. When he did return to his native country in 1565, it was with some difficulty that he was received into favour, notwithstanding the friends he had at court. He was obliged to make a retraction of the offensive doctrines in his publication. He protested and confessed that "good and godly women may lawfully govern whole realms and nations;" but he qualified and explained, rather than recanted, what he had taught respecting the punishment of tyrants. Strype has inserted the document, in his Annals, i. 126; but he has certainly placed it under the wrong year. Collier thinks it "a lame recantation." Eccl. Hist. ii. 440. In 1571, he subscribed, in the presence of the queen's ecclesiastical commissioners, a more ample protestation of his obedience to Elizabeth. Strype's Annals, ii. 95, 96. He was also harrassed on account of his non-conformity to the English ceremonies. Life of Grindal, 170. Life of Parker, 325, 326. Knox corresponded with his friend after he left Scotland, and Calderwood has preserved a letter which he wrote to him in 1571, in which

he alludes to the troubles which he understood he was exposed to. MS. ii. 270. He was alive in 1580, and resided in Chester, from which he sent his salutations to Buchanan. Buchanani Epistolæ, 30, 31. Oper. Rud. Goodman's book was quoted, but for very different purposes, both by Baneroft, (*Dangerous Positions*, B. ii. chap. i.) and by Milton, (*Tenure of Magistrates*, apud *Prose Works* by Symmons, vol. iii. p. 196.)

Goodman was not the only person belonging to the English church who published free sentiments respecting civil government. About the same time with his book, there appeared another on the same subject, entitled "*A Short Treatise of Politique Pouver, and of the true Obedience which subjects owe to Kynges.*" The author of it was Dr. John Ponet, bishop, first of Rochester, and afterwards of Winchester, under Edward VI. Ames, iii. 1594. He discusses the questions respecting the origin of political authority, its absolute or limited nature, the limits of obedience, and the deposition and punishment of tyrants. "This book (says Strype) was not over-favourable to princes. Their rigors and persecutions, and the arbitrary proceedings with their peaceable subjects in these times, put them upon examining the extent of their power, which some were willing to curtail and straiten as much as they could.—This book was printed again in the year 1642, to serve the turn of those times." *Memorials of the Reformation*, iii. 328, 329. Collier (who was a keen Tory) calls it "a most pestilent discourse." He wished to believe that bishop Ponet was not the author, but it is evident from what he says, that he could see no reason for departing from the common opinion. *History* ii. 363. Ponet was a superior scholar. He read the Greek lecture in the University of Cambridge about 1635, and was among the first who adopted the new method of pronouncing that language introduced by Sir Thomas Smith. He wrote several books on mathematics and other subjects, which were greatly esteemed. *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 26, 27. Ames, *Typ. Antiq.* i. 599. ii. 753, 1146. iii. 1587.

Note TT. p. 307.

\* In this note I purposed to have inserted some extracts from the *Treatise of Fasting*, with the view both of exemplifying the style in which it is written, and shewing the apprehensions under which the protestants laboured. But the notes have already swelled so much beyond my expectation, that I must omit these. The passage which I had particularly in my eye, may be seen in



Knox's Liturgy, p. 157—160. edit. 1611; or in Dunlop's Confessions, ii. 661—664.

Note UU. p. 319.

The proceedings of the committee are to be found in Robertson's Records of the Parliament of Scotland. Almost the only ecclesiastical propositions of the committee which were not adopted by the subsequent parliament were such as respected the patrimony of the church. I shall extract one or two respecting the commonwealth which did not obtain a parliamentary sanction. "Als it is thocht expedient that in na tymes cuming ony women salbe admittit to the publict autoritie of ye realme, or function in publict government within ye same." On the margin, opposite to this, is written, "Fund gude;" which is expressive, as I understand it, of the committee's approbation of the motion. Ut supra, p. 795. As Knox, at a period subsequent to this, declared from the pulpit that he had never "entreated that argument in publict or in prevat" since his last arrival in Scotland, (Bannatyne's Journal, p. 117,) it appears that this motion had been made by some other member of the committee. The late misconduct of queen Mary must have had a great effect in inclining them to give this advice. The 23d article does great honour to the enlightened views of the movers. It proposes that all hereditary jurisdictions throughout the kingdom should be abolished. On the margin is written "Apprevit," and farther down, "Supercedis." Ibid. A long time elapsed before this measure, so necessary to the wise administration of justice, was adopted in Scotland. The following was a proposed sumptuary law: "Item, that it be lauchfull to na wemen to weir abone yair estait except howris." On the margin of this is written: "This act is verray gude." Ut supra, p. 798.

The ministers appointed on this committee were "Maister Johne Spottiswood, Maister Johne Craig, Johne Knox, Maister John Row, and Maister David Lindesay." It will be observed that our Reformer is the only one who has not "Maister" prefixed to his name. This title was expressive of some academical degree. It was commonly given in that age to Doctors of Law, and in their subscriptions they often put the letter M. before their names.

Note XX. p. 329.

I am not moved with the unfavourable representations which the partizans of Mary have given of the regent Murray, nor am

I surprized at the cold manner in which Mr. Hume has spoken of him ; but I confess that it pains me to think of the manner in which Dr. Robertson has drawn his character. The faint praise which he has bestowed on him, the doubt which he has thrown over his moral qualities, and the unqualified censures which he has pronounced upon some parts of his conduct, have, I am afraid, done more injury to the regent's memory, than the exaggerated accounts of his adversaries. History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 315, 316. Lond. 1809. Having said this much, it will be expected that I shall be more particular. In addition to those qualities which "even his enemies allow him to have possessed in an eminent degree," Dr. R. mentions his humanity, and his distinguished patronage of learning, and impartial administration of justice. "Zealous for religion (he adds) to a degree which distinguished him even at a time when professions of that kind were not uncommon." This is what every writer must have allowed, but it certainly is far from doing justice to this part of the regent's character. His professions of religion were uniformly supported, in all the different situations in which he was placed ; his strict regard to divine institutions was accompanied with the most correct and exemplary morals ; his religious principle triumphed over a temptation which proved too powerful for almost all the protestant nobility. (See above, p. 270.) When there exist such proofs of sincerity, to withhold the tribute due to it is injurious not only to the individual, but to the general interests of religion. After bearing a decided testimony to the "disinterested passion for the liberty of his country" which prompted Murray to oppose the pernicious system of the princes of Lorraine, and the "zeal and affection" with which he served Mary on her return into Scotland, the historian adds : "But, on the other hand, his ambition was immoderate ; and events happened that opened to him vast projects, which allured his enterprizing genius, and led him to actions inconsistent with the duty of a subject. That his ambition was *immoderate* does not, I think, appear from any evidence which has been produced. Dr. R. has defended him from the charge as brought against him at an earlier period of his life, and we have met with facts that serve to corroborate the defence. (See above, p. 458, 459.) The "vast projects" that opened to him must be limited to the attainment of the regency ; for I do not think that Dr. R. ever for a moment gave credit to the ridiculous tales as to his design of setting aside the young king, and seating himself upon the throne. His acceptance of the regency cannot be pronounced "inconsistent with the duty of a subject," without determining the question, Whether the nation was warranted, by

the misconduct and crimes of Mary, in removing her from the government, and crowning her son. "Her boldest advocates (says Mr. Laing) will not venture to assert, that on the supposition of the fact being fully proved, that she was notoriously guilty of her husband's murder, she was entitled to be restored." History of Scotland, i. 137, second edition. Murray was fully satisfied of her guilt before he accepted the regency. Never was any person raised to such a high station with less evidence of his having ambitiously courted the preferment. Instead of remaining in the country to turn the embroiled state of affairs to his personal advantage, he, within two months after the murder of the king, left Scotland, not clandestinely, but after having asked and obtained leave. And whither did he retire? Not into England, to concert measures with that court, or the more easily to carry on a correspondence with the friends whom he had left behind him; but into France, where his motions could be watched by the friends of Mary. Ibid. p. 59—61. The association for revenging the king's murder, and for the safety of the young prince, the surrender of Mary, and her imprisonment in Lochleven, followed so unexpectedly and rapidly, that they could not proceed from his direction. When he returned to Scotland, he found that the queen had executed formal deeds resigning the government to her son, and appointing him regent during his minority, and that the young prince was already crowned. Hume, vol. v. Note K.

"His treatment of the queen, to whose bounty he was so much indebted, was unbrotherly and ungrateful." To the charge of ingratitude, I can only reply, by repeating what I have said in the text, that all the honours which she conferred upon him were not too great a reward for the important services which he had rendered to her. How many persons have been celebrated for sacrificing parental as well as brotherly affection to the public good! The probable reasons for Murray's interview with the queen in Lochleven have been stated by Mr. Laing, i. 419—421. But "he deceived and betrayed Norfolk with a baseness unworthy of a man of honour." To this harsh censure I may oppose the opinion of Mr. Hume, who will not be suspected of partiality to the regent. "Particularly (says he, in a letter to Dr. Robertson, written after the publication of his History of Scotland) I could almost undertake to convince you that the earl of Murray's conduct with the duke of Norfolk was *no way* dishonourable. Stewart's Life of Robertson, apud History. ut supra, i. 158. See also "Part of a Letter from the Earl of Murray to L. B." inserted in



vol. ii. Append. No. xxxiii.—“His elevation to such *unexpected* dignity inspired him with new passions, with haughtiness and reserve; and instead of his natural manner, which was blunt and open, he affected the arts of dissimulation and refinement. Fond, towards the end of his life, of flattery, and impatient of advice, his creatures, by soothing his vanity, led him astray, while his ancient friends stood at a distance, and predicted his approaching fall.” Certainly the facts stated by Dr. R. in the preceding part of his narrative, do not prepare the mind of his reader for these charges. The severity of the regent’s virtues had, indeed, been mentioned, and it had been asserted that his deportment had become distant and haughty. The authority of Sir James Melvil was referred to in support of this statement; and I am satisfied that it was upon his testimony chiefly that the historian proceeded, when he gave the above account of Murray’s conduct during the latter part of his life. I submit to the reader the following remarks as to the degree of credit which is due to the authority of Melvil.

In the *first* place, there is every reason to think, either that Melvil’s Memoirs have been unfaithfully published by the editor, or that the author acted unfaithfully, in the narrative which he has given of affairs from the queen’s marriage with Bothwell to the death of the earl of Murray. I shall not take upon me to determine which of these is the most probable supposition, but am of opinion that either the one or the other must be admitted. The charge which was brought against queen Mary of participation in the murder of her husband, with all the proofs produced in support of it, is suppressed, and studiously kept out of view, in the Memoirs. There is not one word in them respecting the celebrated letters to Bothwell, although they formed the grand vindication of the regent and his friends.—The same inference may be drawn from the ridiculous account given of the appearance made by the regent before the commissioners at York, when he presented the nameless accusation against Mary (Memoirs, 96, 97, Lond. 1683; an account which is completely discredited by the journals of both parties, and which neither Hume nor Robertson thought worthy of the slightest regard. It is observable, that Melvil could not be ignorant of the real transaction, as he was present at York; and that the design of this as well as of the subsequent part of his narrative is to represent the regent as weakly suffering himself to be duped, and misled, by designing and violent counsellors. Mr. Laing has adverted to both of these things as discreditable to the Memoirs. History, ut supra, i. 118.—I shall produce only one other instance of the same

kind. Speaking of the queen's marriage with Bothwell, he says: "I cannot tell *how* nor by *what law* he parted with his own wife, sister to the earl of Huntly." Mem. 80. Is it credible, that one who was in the midst of the scene, and acquainted even with the secrets of state at that time, could be ignorant of that which was proclaimed to all the world? If it should be alleged that Melvil, writing in his old age, might have forgotten this glaring fact, (the excuse commonly made for his inaccuracies) I am afraid that the apology will detract as much from the credibility of his Memoirs as the charge which it is brought to repel. 2. In estimating the degree of regard due to the censures which Melvil has passed on the regent's conduct, we must keep in view the political course which he himself steered. Sir James appears to have been a man of amiable dispositions, whose mind was cultivated by the study of letters; but those who have carefully read his Memoirs must, I think, be convinced that his penetration was not great, and that his politics were undecided, temporizing, and inconsistent. He was always at court, and always tampering with those who were out of court. We find him exposing himself to danger by dissuading his mistress from marrying Bothwell, and yet countenancing the marriage by his presence; a little after acting as an agent for those who had imprisoned the queen, and yet intriguing with those who wished to set her at liberty; carrying a common message from the king's lords to the earl of Murray upon his return out of France, and yet secretly conveying another message tending to counteract the design of the former; supporting Murray in the regency, and yet trafficking with those who wished to undermine his authority. I do not call in question the goodness of his intentions in all this; I am willing to believe that a desire for the peace of the country, or attachment to the queen, induced him to go between, and labour to reconcile the contending parties; but when parties are discordant, when their interests, or the objects at which they shoot, are diametrically opposite, to persevere in such attempts is preposterous, and cannot fail to foster and increase confusions. Who believes that the Hamiltons were disposed to join with the king's party, or that the latter, when unassured of the assistance of England, were not extremely anxious for a junction with them? Yet Melvil asserts the contrary. Mem. 85, 86, 90. Who thinks that there was the smallest feasibility in what he proposed to the regent as "a present remedy for his preservation?" or believes that Maitland would have consented to go into France, and Kircaldy to deliver up the castle of Edinburgh? The regent heard him patiently, he respected the goodness of the man; but he saw that he was the dupe

of Maitland's artifices, and he followed his own superior judgment. For rejecting such advices as this (and not the religious proverbs, and political aphorisms, which he quoted to him from Solomon, Augustine, Isocrates, Plutarch, and Theopompus) has Melvil charged him with refusing the counsel of his oldest and wisest friends. Mem. 102—104.

3. What were the errors committed by the regent which precipitated his fall? There are two referred to by Melvil; the imprisonment of the Duke and lord Herries, and the accusation of Maitland and Balfour. Mem. 100, 101. In vindication of the former step, I have only to appeal to the narrative which Dr. Robertson has given of that affair. Vol. ii. p. 296—299. Maitland was at that time deeply engaged in intrigues against the regent, (Ibid. p. 307;) there is not a doubt that both he and Balfour were accessory to the murder of Darnly, (Laing, i. 28, 135, ii. 22;) and they were arrested and accused at this time in consequence of the recent confession of one of Bothwell's servants. Ibid. ii. 37. 4. Who were the unworthy favourites by whose flattery, and evil counsel, the regent was led astray? Dr. Robertson mentions "Captain Crawford one of his *creatures*." This is the same person whom he afterwards calls "Captain Crawford of Jordan-hill, a *gallant* and enterprizing officer," who distinguished himself so much by the surprize of the castle of Dunbarton. History, ii. 307, 331. comp. Laing, ii. 297, 298. Morton, Lindsay, Wishart of Pittarow, Macgill of Rankeillor, Pitcairn, abbot of Dunfermline, Balnaves of Hallhill, and Wood of Tilliedavy, were among the regent's counsellors. 5. Who were his old friends who lost his favour? They could be no other than Sir James Balfour, Maitland, Kircaldy, and Melvil himself. Of the two former I need not say a word. Kircaldy of Grange was a brave man, and had long been the intimate friend of the regent; but he was already corrupted by Maitland and had secretly entered into his schemes for restoring the queen. Robertson, ii. 307. Of Melvil I have already spoken; nay, he himself testifies that the regent continued to the last to listen to his good advices. "The most part of these sentences (says he) drawn out of the Bible, I used to rehearse to him at several occasions, and *he took better with these at my hands, who he knew had no by-end, than if they had proceeded from the most learned philosopher*. Therefore at his desire I promised to put them in writing, to give him them to keep in his pocket; but he was slain before I could meet with him." Mem. 104. How this is to be reconciled with other assertions in the Memoirs, I leave others to determine. It required no great sagacity in his



ancient friends to "predict his approaching fall," by *assassination*; when repeated attempts had already been made on his life, and some of them were privy to the design then formed against it; and it says little for their ancient friendship, that they "stood at a distance," and allowed it to be carried into execution.

There are three honourable testimonies to the excellence of the regent's character which must have weight with all candid persons. The first is that of the great historian *Thuanus*. He not only examined the histories which both parties had published concerning the transactions in Scotland, which made so much noise through Europe, but he carefully conversed with the most intelligent Scotsmen, papists and protestants, whom he had the opportunity of seeing in France. When this part of his history was in the press, he applied to his friend Camden for advice, acquainting him how much he was embarrassed, and that he was apprehensive of displeasing king James, who, he understood, was very hostile to Buchanan. "I do not wish (says he) to incur the charge of imprudence or malignity from a certain personage who has honoured me with his letters, and encouraged me to publish the rest of my history, with the same candour, and regard for truth." Camden, in reply, exhorted him to use moderation, and told him the story which he had received from his master, imputing the disturbances in Scotland chiefly to the ambition of Murray. Durand, *Historie du XVI. Siecle*, tom. vii. contenant la Vie de Monsieur De Thou, p. 226—231. But notwithstanding the respect which he entertained for Camden, and the desire which he felt to please James, Thuanus found himself obliged, by a sacred regard to truth, to reject the above imputation, and to adopt in the main the narrative of Buchanan. I shall merely quote, from his answer to Camden, the character which he draws of Murray. Having mentioned the accusation brought against him, he says: "This is constantly denied by all the credible Scotsmen with whom I have had opportunity to converse, *not even excepting those who otherwise were great enemies to Murray on a religious account*; for they affirm that, religion apart, HE WAS A MAN WITHOUT AMBITION, WITHOUT AVARICE, INCAPABLE OF DOING AN INJURY TO ANY ONE, DISTINGUISHED BY HIS VIRTUE, AFFABILITY, BENEFICENCE, AND INNOCENCE OF LIFE; and that, had it not been for him, those who tear his memory after his death, would never have attained that authority which they now enjoy." Ut supra, p. 218, and Bulkley's *Thuanus*, apud Laing, ii. 92. A second testimony of a very strong kind in favour of the regent is that of archbishop *Spottiswood*. He must have

conversed with many who were personally acquainted with him; he knew the unfavourable sentiments which James entertained respecting him, which had been published in Camden's *Annals*, and he had long enjoyed the favour of that monarch; yet, in his history, he has drawn the character of Murray in as flattering colours as Buchanan himself has done. The last testimony to which I shall appeal, is the *Vox Populi*, strongly expressed by the title of *The Good Regent*, which it imposed upon him, and by which his memory was handed down to posterity. Had he, elated by prosperity, become haughty and reserved, or, intoxicated with flattery, yielded himself up to unprincipled and avaricious favourites, the people must soon have felt the effects of the change, and would never have cherished his name with such enthusiastic gratitude and admiration.

Note YY. p. 332.

The regent's monument is yet entire and in good order. It stands in that part of St. Giles now called the *Old Church*, (the former aisle being taken into the body of the church when it was lately fitted up,) at the back of the pulpit, on the east side. At the top is the figure of an eagle, and below it "1570" the date of the erection of the monument. In the middle is a brass plate, on which the following ornaments and inscriptions are engraved: The family arms, with the motto "*Salus per Christum*" (Salvation through Christ.) On the one side of the arms, is a female figure with a cross and Bible, the word "*Religio*" above, and below "*Pietas sine vindice luget*" (Piety mourns without a defender;) on the other side, another female figure, in a mourning posture, with the head reclining on the hand, the word "*Justicia*" above, and below "*Jus exarmatum est*" (Justice is disarmed.) Underneath is the following inscription or epitaph:

23 JANVARI 1569.

JACOBO · STOVARTO · MORAVIÆ · COMITI · SCOTIÆ ·  
 PROREGI · VIRO · ÆTATIS · SVÆ · LONGE · OPTIMO ·  
 AB · INIMICIS · OMNIS · MEMORIÆ · DETERRIMIS ·  
 EX · INSIDIIS · EXINCTO · OEV · PATRI ·  
 COMMVNI · PATRIA · MOERENS · POSVIT ·

*To James Stuart, Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland, by far the best man of his age, treacherously cut off by enemies of most detestable memory, his grieving country hath erected this monument, as to a common father.*

Knox, among others, warned the regent of the designs which his enemies had formed against his life. "When the Mr. of Grahame come and drew him to Dumbartane, he planelie said to the regent then, that it was onlie done for a trane be that meanis to cut him off, as it come to pas; also when he was in Stirveling, being returned from Dumbartane, he sent me to my ladie the regentis wife, tuo sundrie tymes, and desyrit her to signifie my lord her husband, that he suld not come to Lynlythgow. So that gif his counsall had bene followed, he had not died at that tyme. And my ladie the last tyme sent Mr. Jhoone Wood, to desyre him to avoid Lynlythgow. But God thought vs not worthy of sic a rewlare above vs, and also he wald therby hav the wickitnes of vtheris knawin, whilk then was hid; and therefore did God then tak him fra us. But lat the Hamiltonis, the lard of Grange, with the rest of that factione, lay thair compt and reckon thair advantage and wining since." *Bannatyne's Journal*, p. 428, 429. The intrepidity of Murray prompted him to despise these prudential admonitions, and defeated the precaution of his friends.

Mr. Scot has, by a poetical license, introduced the Reformer as present at Linlithgow, to grace the Regent's fall.

From the wild border's humbled side,  
In haughty triumph marched he,  
While Knox relaxed his bigot pride,  
And smil'd the traitorous pomp to see.

Ballads and Lyrical Pieces, p. 52. Edin. 1810.

Note ZZ. p. 348.

The Scottish reformers never ascribed or allowed to civil rulers the same authority in ecclesiastical matters which the English did. In particuar, they resisted from the beginning the claim of ecclesiastical supremacy granted to the English monarchs. On the 7th July 1568, "It was delatit and fund that Thomas Bassinden, printer in Edinburgh imprentit an buik, intitulat *The Fall of the Roman Kirk*, naming our King and Sovereane *Supreame Head of the primitive Kirk*.—The haill assemblie ordaint the said Thomas to call in againe all the foirsaidis buiks yat he hes sauld, and keip the rest unsauld, until he alter the forsaid title. Attour, the assemblie appoyntit Mr. Alex. Arbuthnot to revise the rest of the forsaid tractat and report to the kirk quhat doctrine he findis thairin." Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 38, 39. The General Assembly were frequently occupied in settling the bounds between civil and ecclesiastical



jurisdiction, and in March 1570-1, arranged the objects which pertained to the latter under six heads: including, among other things, the judgment of doctrine, administration of divine ordinances, the election, examination, admission, suspension, &c. of ministers, and all cases of discipline. The following is the concluding article: "And because the conjunction of marriages pertaineth to the ministrie, the causis of adherents and divorcements aucht also to pertaine to thame, as naturallie annexit thairto." Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 51. Actes of the General Assemblies, prefixed to *The First and Second Booke of Discipline*, printed anno 1621, p. 3, 4.

On occasion of some encroachments made on the liberties of the church in 1571, John Erskine of Dun, superintendent of Angus and Mearns, addressed two letters to the regent Mar. They are written in a very clear, spirited, and forcible style, contain an accurate statement of the essential distinction between civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and should be read by all who wish to know the early sentiments of the church of Scotland on this subject. See Bannatyne's *Journal*, p. 279—290.

Note AAA. p. 351.

The following particulars respecting our Reformer, during his residence at St. Andrews, are extracted from the MS. Diary of Mr. James Melville. "Ther wer twa in St. Androis wha war his aydant heirars, and wrait his sermons, an my condiscipule, Mr. Andro Young, minister of Dumblane, who translated sum of them into Latin, and read thame in the hall of the college insteid of his orations." The other was a servant of Mr. Robert Hamilton, but with what view he took notes Melville, could not say. *Diary*, p. 28.—"Mr. Knox wald sum tymes cum in, and repast him in our collage yeard, and call ws schollars unto him and blis ws, and exhort ws to knaw God, and his wark in our countrey, and stand be the guid caus, to use our tyme weill, and learn the guid instructiones and follow the guid example of our maisters. Our haill collag [St. Leonard's] maisters and schollars war sound and zelus for the guid caus, the uther twa collages not sa." p. 23. "This yeir in the moneth of July. Mr. Jhone David-sone, an of our regents, maid a pley at the marriage of Mr. Jhone Colvin, quhilk I saw playit in Mr. Knox presence, wharin, according to Mr. Knox doctrine, the castle of Edinburgh was besieged, takin, and the captin, with ane or twa with him, hangit in effigie," p. 24. This seems to have been an exercise among the students at the university. The following extract shews that the

linearts were not uncultivated, and that the professors and students attended to them in their recreations. "I lernit singing and pleying on instrumentis passing weill, and wald gladlie spend tyme, whar the exercise thair of was within the collag; for twa or thrie of our condisciples pleyed fellin weill on the virginals, and another on the lut and githorn. Our regent had also the pinalds in his chalmer, and lernit sum thing, and I efter him." Melville adds, that his fondness for music was, at one period, in danger of drawing away his attention from more important studies, but that he overcame the temptation, p. 25.

I may add an extract from the same Diary, relating an incident in the life of one who entertained a high respect for Knox, and afterwards became a distinguished minister in the church. "The ordor of four kirks to a minister, then maid be the erle of Morton, now maid regent, against the quhilk Mr. Jhone Davidsons, an of the regents of our collag, maid a buik called *The Conference betwix the Clark and the Courtier*; for the quhilk he was summoned befor the Justice Air in Haddinton this winter [1573] the lest of our course, and banished the country," p. 24. The General Assembly, in October 1577, presented a supplication to the regent Morton, requesting him to allow Mr. Davidson to return home from England. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 70.

Note BBB. p. 356.

*John Craig*, upon his removal from Edinburgh, went to Montrose. After continuing there two years he was removed to Aberdeen, and had the inspection of the churches in Buchan and Mar committed to him. In 1579, he was called to be the king's minister, which situation he held until his death. Spottiswood, 464. The General Assembly, July 1580, when informed of the choice which his majesty had made, "blessed the Lord, and praised the king for his zeal." Row's MS. Historie, 47; of copy in the Divinity Library, Edinburgh. In a paper given in by the king to the Assembly, 27th June, 1595, it was said that "Mr. John Craig is awayting quhat hour it sall please God to call him, and is altogether unhabile to serve any longer." Buik of the Univ. Kirk. Petrie, ii. 509. Spottiswood says that he died at Edinburgh Dec. 12, 1600, in the 88th year of his age. That historian has given a particular account of his early life, the means of his conversion from popery (by accidentally falling upon a copy of *Calvin's Institutions* in the library of the *Inquisition* at Bologna, and of his remarkable deliverance from the Inquisitorial prison at Rome, and subsequent preservation. History, 463. A similar account

is given by Row, who says that he received it "from the wife of Mr. Craig, who survived her husband a long time, living in Edinburgh until the year 1630, where she was well known under the name of *Dame Craig*." MS. Historie, ut supra, compared with a copy transcribed in 1726. Mr. Craig is well known as the person who drew up the *Catechism*, appointed by the General Assembly to be used in churches and families, and the *National Covenant*, so frequently sworn and renewed in Scotland.

Note CCC. p. 372.

Beza has inserted no verses to the memory of our Reformer, in the account which he has given of him in his *Icones, id est, Veræ Imagines Virorum Doctrina simul et Pietate Illustrium*, published by him in Latin, Anno 1580. Ee. iij. But "of this work, a French version was published under the title of *Les Vrais Pourtraits des Hommes Illustres en Piete et Doctrine*. Geneve, 1581, 4to. In the translation are inserted original verses on Knox, &c." Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 234. Having never seen this translation, I cannot say whether the verses which it contains coincide with these which I am about to quote, or not.

*Jacobus Verheiden* published "Præstantium aliquot Theologorum, qui Romæ Antichristum oppugnant, Effigies, quibus addita eorum Elogia, librorumque Catalogi. Hag. Comit. 1602. A new edition of this was published by *Fredericus Roth-Scholtz*, under the title of "*Jacobi Verheidenii Haga-Comitis Imagines et Elogia, &c. Hagæ-Comitum, A°. 1725*." In this work the following lines are placed under the portrait of Knox.

Scottorum primum te Ecclesia, CNOXE, docentem.  
Audiit, auspiciis estque redacta tuis.  
Nam te cælestis pietas super omnia traxit,  
Atque Reformatæ Religionis amor.

*To thee, Knox, the Scottish church listened as her first instructor,  
and under thy auspices was restored. For celestial piety, and love  
of the reformed religion, attracted thee above all things.*

To the account of his life and writings, in the same work, is added an epigram, in Greek, and in Latin, which, according to a common custom in such compositions, consists of a play upon the sound of his name, and that of his country, in the way of contrast; representing Knox as driving the *nocturnal* crows, or Scotiean sophists from Scotland. As the author informs us that



the *Batavian youth* amused themselves in making these epigrams, and thinks that some of them will amuse the reader, I shall not withhold this specimen in both languages.

Νυκτερίδας, νυκλὸς κόρακας, καὶ νύκτα ἀφειργη,

Α' ἄλλα τε λυγρὸν Ἡ' ὡς φεύγει ἀλεξίκακον.

Οὕτως μὲν ΚΝΟΣΟΣ σχολιστὸς δνοφεκὸς τε σοφιστὸς

Εν [εκ] Σκοτίῃ πάτρῃ ἐκβαλε λαμπόμενον.

Nocturnos corvos, noctem obscuramque, volantes

Mures Aurora ut cetera dira fugat:

Sic CNOXVS Scoticos simul obseurosque Sophistas

Ex Scotica lucens ejicit hic patria.

Verheidenii Imagines et Elogia, p. 59, 70.

Hagæ-Comitum, 1725.

A poem to the memory of our Reformer, of considerable extent, was composed in the Scottish language by one of his countrymen, and published the year after his death. If a copy of this poem could have been procured, it would have thrown additional light upon his life, the principal events of which it seems to have been designed to commemorate. But I must be contented with giving the account of its title and general contents from one who examined it. "Ane breif commendatioun of vprichtnes, in respect of the surenes of the same to all that walk in it, amplifyit chieflie be that notabill document of Goddis miehtie protectioun, in preseruing his maist vpricht seruand, and feruent messinger of Christis Euangell, Johne Knox. Set furth in Inglis meter be M. Johne Daudisone, Regent in S. Leonard's College. Quhairunto is addit in the end ane schort discours of the estaitis quha hes caus to deploir the deith of this excellent seruand of God. Psalme xxxvii. Mark the vpricht man, and behauld the just, for the end of that man is peace. Imprintit at Sanct Androis be Robert Lekpreuik. Anno 1573." The dedication to "the maist godlie, ancient and worthie Schir Johne Wischart of Pittarrow Knicht" is dated "from Sanctandrois, the xviii. of Febr." The Commendation is in 47 octave stanzas; the Lamentation of the States in 19 nine-lined stanzas. It concludes with a decastichon of Latin verses, "Quam tutum sit propugnaculum Deo sine fuce inservire, ex mirifica eximii Dei servi Joannis Knoxii, in tranquillum vitæ exitum, illis omnibus impiorum conatibus, conseruatione, et ejus exemplum sequi momemur.—Finis. Quod M. J. D." 4to. W. H. Ames,

Typogr. Antiq. vol. p. 1818. This cannot, surely, be a different book from that mentioned by Pinkerton, in his *Inconographia Scotica*, although he has spoken of it as if it had a different title.

Note DDD. p. 373.

The slanders propagated by the popish writers against our Reformer's character have been stated in Note QQ. After the specimen there given, it will not be expected that I shall dwell upon the equally extravagant and incredible accounts which they circulated concerning the manner of his death. I shall, however, abridge the account of Archibald Hamilton, the original picture from which so many copies were taken. "The opening of his mouth (he says) was drawn out to such a length of deformity, that his face resembled that of a dog, as his voice did the barking of that animal. The voice failed from that tongue, which had been the cause of so much mischief, and his death, most grateful to his country, soon followed. In his last sickness, he was occupied not so much in meditating upon death, as in thinking upon civil and worldly affairs. When a number of his friends, who held him in the greatest veneration, were assembled in his chamber, and anxious to hear from him something tending to the confirmation of his former doctrine, and their comfort, he perceiving that his death approached, and that he could gain no more advantage by the pretext of religion, disclosed to them the mysteries of that Savoyan art (*Sabaudicæ disciplinæ* magic,) which he had hitherto kept secret; confessed the injustice of that authority which was then defended by arms against the exiled queen, and declared many things concerning her return, and the restoration of religion, after his death. One of the company who had taken the pen to record his dying sayings, thinking that he was in a delirium, desisted from writing, upon which Knox, with a stern countenance, and great asperity of language, began to upbraid him. *Thou good-for-nothing man! why dost thou leave off writing what my presaging mind foresees as about to happen in this kingdom? Dost thou distrust me? Dost thou not believe that all which I say shall most certainly happen? But that I may attest to thee and others how undoubted these things which I have just spoken are, Go out all of you from me, and I will in a moment confirm them all by a new and unheard off proof.* They withdrew at length, though reluctantly, leaving only the lighted candles in the chamber, and soon returned, expecting to witness some prodigy: When they saw the lights extinguished, and his dead body lying prostrate on the ground." Hamilton

adds, that the spectators, after recovering from their astonishment, replaced the dead body in the bed, and entered into an agreement to conceal what they had witnessed; but God, unwilling that such a document should be unknown, disclosed it, "both by the amanuensis himself [Robertus Kambell a Pinkineleugh,] soon after taken off by a similar death, and by others, although unwillingly, making clear confessions." *De Confusione Calvin. Sectæ apud Scotos*, fol. 66. 67. Those who have not access to the work itself, will find the original words extracted, although with some slight inaccuracies, by Mackenzie. *Lives of Scottish Writers*, iii. 131, 132. "All the rest of the Romish writers (says Mackenzie) insist upon such like ridiculous stories that are altogether improbable." Hamilton's fabrications gave occasion, however, to the publication of that minute and satisfactory narrative of the last illness and death of Knox, drawn up by one who waited on him all the time, and added by principal Smeton to the answer which he made to that virulent writer. See above, p. 360. Yet the popish writers continued to retail Hamilton's story until a late period. It was published by Knot in his *Protestancy Condemned*, Doway, 1654; and in *The Politician's Catechism*, printed at Antwerp, 1658. *Permissu superiorum*. Those who wish to see the variations which it had undergone by that time, may be satisfied by looking into Strype's *Life of Archbishop Parker*, p. 367.

The miserable, horrible, detestable and execrable deaths" of Luther, Calvin, and other heretics of that time are particularly recorded by James Laing, in the work to which I have repeatedly referred.

Note EEE. p. 393.

The two sons of our Reformer, Nathanael and Eleazar, were inrolled in the matriculation-book of the University of Cambridge, December 2, 1572, eight days after their father's death. *Nathanael*, the eldest, was made Bachelor of Arts, anno 1576, admitted Fellow of St. John's College in 1577, made Master of Arts in 1580, and died the same year. *Eleazar*, the youngest son, was made Bachelor of Arts in 1577, admitted Fellow of St. John's College March 22, 1579, made Master of Arts in 1581, was one of the preachers emitted by the university in 1587-8, made vicar of *Clacton-Magna*, May 1587, and created Bachelor of Divinity in 1588: he died in 1591, and was buried in the chapel of St. John's College, Cambridge. *Newcourt's Repert.* Lond. ii. 154. and Communications from Mr. Thomas Baker, apud *Life of Knox*, prefixed to his *Historie of the Reformatioun*, edit. Anno 1732. p. xli. xlii.



In the beginning of the Life, I have adopted the opinion that our Reformer was born in the Gifford-gate of Haddington, and not in the village of Gifford, according to the statement of Beza, and other old writers. I have since been inclined to suspect that opinion, or at least the solidity of the principal argument upon which it is founded. The house in the Gifford-gate, in which he was born, (it was said) is still shewn by the inhabitants, and, together with some adjoining acres of land, had belonged to a family of the name of Knox (claiming kindred to the Reformer) until about 50 years ago, when it was sold to the Earl of Weymyss. As the sons of the Reformer died without issue, there is no reason to think that this family was lineally descended from him; still, however, the property might have belonged to his elder brother, which is consistent with the supposition of his being born in the house which tradition has marked out. But I have lately been favoured with extracts from the title deeds of that property, now in the possession of the Earl of Weymiss, extending from the year 1598 downwards. On the 18th February 1598, William Knox in Morehame, and Elizabeth Schortes his wife, were infeft in subjects in Nungate (of Haddington,) in virtue of a crown charter. This charter contains no statement of the warrants on which it proceeded, farther than that the lands formerly belonged to the Abbaey of Haddington, and were annexed to the crown. Having communicated to the Rev. Mr. Scott of Perth the names of the persons mentioned in the first charter and subsequent deeds, with a request to be informed, if any such names occur in the genealogy of the Knox family which belonged to the late Mr. Knox, minister of Scoon, I have been favoured with an answer, saying, that neither the name of William Knox at Morehame, nor that of any other person answering to the description in my letter is to be found in that genealogy. But farther, the charter expressly states, that the lands in question belonged to the Abbaey of Haddington, and, as they must have been annexed to the crown subsequent to the Reformation, they could not be the property of the family at the time of our Reformer's birth. The tradition of his having been born in the Gifford-gate is therefore supported merely by the possibility, that his parents *might* have resided in that house while it was the property of the Abbey. In opposition to this we have the authorities mentioned in page first.

I may add (although it rests on traditional authority) that the house in which our Reformer resided in Edinburgh is said to be that which is situated at the bottom of the High-Street, with the inscription *Θεός, Deus, God*. The proprietor has put up the word

**KNOX** in gilt letters. It is also said that the chair on which the moderator sits in the General Assembly belonged to **KNOX**.

Note FFF.\* p. 393.

Mr. Matthew Crawford, in his life of **KNOX**, prefixed to the edition of his *Historie*, printed in 1732, thinks it improbable that Mrs. Pont was a daughter of **KNOX** by his *second* marriage; "for no doubt (says he) Mr. Pont was an old man, before any of that marriage could be of age." p. xlii. But if ever **KNOX** had any daughters by his first wife, they were not alive when he composed the prayer which he published along with his Answer to Tyrie. The following is the clause in it respecting his family: "Let thy mercyfull providence luke upon my desolate bed-fellow, the frute of hir bosome, and my two deir children, Nathanael and Eleezer." From this it appears that the two sons mentioned were the only children which he had, besides those who were born to him by his second wife. At the end of the volume of MS. Letters, in my possession, this prayer is inserted (but evidently by a different hand) under the title of "The last Will and Words of John **KNOX**, at St. Andros, May 13, 1572." But in the preface to the publication above mentioned, he himself says: "I have added unto this preface a meditation or prayer throwin furth of my sorrowful heart, and pronounced be my half dead tounge, befor I was compelled to leave my flocke of Edinburgh, who now ar dispersed, suffering lytill les calamitie then did the faithfull efter the persecutioun of Stephen." After the prayer is this date, "At Edinburgh the 12 of March 1565, i. e. 1566, according to the modern reckoning; from which it appears that this prayer was composed by him when he left Edinburgh as related in p. 309.

"To return to Mr. Pont: although he was not a young man when **KNOX**'s oldest daughter by the second marriage came of age, there have often been instances of greater disparity of age in matrimonial connexions. The name of Pont often occurs in the account of ecclesiastical transactions during the remainder of the sixteenth century. The writer of Additional Notes to Lord Haile's Catalogue of the Lords of Sessions, calls him, by mistake, "the first presbyterian miuister of the West Kirk," p. 8. Edinburgh, 1798. William Harlaw preceded him in that situation.

\* For the Catalogue of **KNOX**'s Works see the following Note; FFF. having been referred to in p. 400, by mistake, instead of GGG

Keith, 498. At the request of the regent Mar, the assembly, or convention, which met at Leith in January 1571-2, allowed Mr. Robert Pont, on account of his great knowledge of the laws, to act as a Lord of Session. Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 54. But in March 1572-3, the regent Morton having laid before them a proposal for appointing some ministers Lords of Session, the Assembly "votit throughout that naine was able nor apt to bear the saides twa charges." They therefore inhibited any minister from accepting the place of a Senator; from this inhibition they however excepted Mr. Pont. Ibid. p. 56. He was commissioner of Murray, and provost of Trinity College Edinburgh. Upon the death of the earl of March, James VI. offered him the bishopric of Caithnes, but he declined accepting it. Keith's Scottish Bishops, 129. He was the author of several publications, besides the Sermons "against Sacrilege" repeatedly mentioned.

The time of his death, and his age, appear from the following inscription on his tomb-stone, in St. Cuthbert's Church-yard.

Ille ego Robertus Pontanus, in hoc prope sacra  
Christi qui fueram pastor gregis, auspice Christo,  
Æternæ hic recubans exspecto resurgere vitæ.

Obiit octavo die mensis Maii, Anno D. 1608. Ætatis 81.

Maitland's History of Edinburgh, 178, 179.

#### Note GGG. p. 400.

The following Catalogue of the Reformer's Works will, I trust, be found more correct and complete than any one which has hitherto appeared. The titles have been accurately copied from the books themselves, when I could possibly procure them, and at the end of each I have mentioned where a copy may be seen. For such as I could not get access to I have had recourse to the best authorities, as marked after each article. I have also noticed those of which there are copies in the MS. volume in my possession.

1. "An admonition, or warning, that the faithful Christians in London, Newcastle, Barwycke and others, may avoide God's vengeance both in thys life and in the life to come. Compyled by the servaunt of God, John Knokes." A cut of truth, poor woman, handcuffed and fastened in the stocks with a halter about her neck, held by Tyrannye, on the one hand; while Crueltye, with



a cornered cap, is threatening her with a rod, on the other. Beneath the cut. "The persecuteth speaketh

"I fear not death, nor passe not for bands :  
Only in God put I my whole trust,  
For God will requyre my blod at your hands.  
And this J know that once dye I must,  
Only for Chryst, my lyfe if I give :  
Death is no death, but a meane for to leyve."

Under these verses in ancient writing "John Frythe boke Red and send yt agayne." E. in eights. "From Wittonburge by Nicholas Doreastor. Anno M.D.LIIII. the viii of May. Cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum." W. H. (Ames by Herbert, p. 1576.) sixteens. Comp. Tanneri Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica, p. 460. See Life, p. 105, note.†

2. "A faythfull admonition made by John Knox, unto the professors of God's truthe in England, whereby thou myest learne howe God wyll have his churche exercised with troubles, and how he defendeth it in the same. Esaie ix. After all this shall not the Lordes wrath ceasse, but yet shall hys hande be stretched out styll. Ibidem. Take hede that the Lorde roote thee not out both heade and tayle in one daye."

On the back of title : "The epistle of a banyshed manne out of Leyecestershire sometime one of the preachers of Goddes worde there, to the Christen reader wyseth health, deliveraunce, and felicitie."

"Imprynted at Kalykow the 20 daye of Julii 1554. Cum gratia et privilegio ad Imprimendum solum." French black letter, extends to I. and makes 63 leaves. Advocates Library. A copy of this in MS. Vol.

3. "A godly letter sent too the faythefull in London, Newcastle, Barwyke, and to all other within the realme of Englande, that love the cōming of our Lorde Jesus by Jhon knox. Matth. x. He that continueth unto the ende shall be saved. Imprinted in Rome, before the Castel of S. Augel, at the signe of Sainet Peter. In the moneth of July, in the yeare of our Lord 1554." D. 28 leaves, Fr. bl. letter. Advocates Library. A copy in MS. Vol.

4. "A confession and declaratiō of praiers added therunto, by Jhon Knox, minister of Christes most sacred Evangely, upon the death of that moste famous king Edward the VI. kynge of Englande. Fraunce, and Ireland, in which confession, the sayde Jhon doth accuse no lesse hys owne offence, then the offences of others,

to be the cause of the awaye takinge, of that moste godly prince, nowe raininge with Christ whyle we abyde plagues for our unthāfulnessse. Imprinted in Rome, before the Castel of S. Aungel, at the signe of Sainet Peter. In the moneth of July, in the yeare of our Lorde, 1554." C. 19 leaves. Fr. black letter. Advocates Library.

The "Confession" is inserted in Note Q. The "Declaration of Praiers" is in MS. Vol. see Note I, p. 419. Another edition was licensed 1580, see Ames, p. 1146.

5. "The Copie of a Letter sent to the ladye Mary Dowagire, Regent of Scotland, by John Knox, in the yeare 1556. Here is also a notable Sermon, made by the sayde John Knox; wherein is evydentlye proved that the masse is, and alwayes hath ben abhominable before God, and idolatrye. *Scrutamini Scripturas.*" (In sixty-four leaves, black-letter,) twelves.

"After that letter to Queen Mary, exhorting her to reform her church and prelates, follows the said Sermon, or Confession, which Knox, on the 4 of April 1550, made before the council, &c. among whom was present the bishop of Durham, and his doctors; wherein our said author maintained the mass to be idolatry. And the whole concludes with his Declaration of the opinion we Christians have of the Lord's Supper. Catalogue of Pamphlets in the Harleian Library, Number iv. 105. Ames (p. 1587,) introduces this book as printed in 1556, but without alleging any authority; and (p. 1834,) he speaks of the Sermon against the Mass as printed in 1550, for which he quotes T. Baker's Maunsell, p. 101. All the tracts mentioned in this article are in MS. Vol.

6. "The Copie of a Lettre delivered to the ladie Marie, Regent of Scotland, from Johne Knox minister of Goddes worde, in the yeare of our Lord 1556, and nowe augmented and explaned by the author in the yeare of our Lord 1558." Device: two arches, one narrow, the other broad; over the narrow one is a crown of laurel, over the broad one flames of fire, with this motto about them, "Enter in at the streit gate: for wide is the gate, and brode is the way, that leadeth to destruction, Matth. vii." Printed at Geneva, by James Poullain, and Antonie Rebul. M.D.LVIII. D, extends to 28 leaves. Rom. Letter, 16mo. Advocates Library.

7. The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regement of Women. Veritas temporis filia. M.D.LVIII. 56 leaves. Rom. Letter. Advocates Library.

8. "The Appellation of John Knox from the cruell and most unjust sentence pronounced against him by the false bishoppes

that thi presence efter may be mair delectabill ! how canest thou bring thi sanctis lowe, that thou may carrie thame to glorie everlasting ! how canis thou suffer thi strang faithfull messengers in many thingis yit to wressil with wreachit infirmitie and febill weakness, ye and sumtymes permittis thou thame horribillie to fall, partlie that na flesche sall have whairof it may glorie befoir the, and partlie that utheris of smaller estait and meaner giftis in thi kirk myght resave sum consolatioun, albeit thay find in thame selves pickit motiouns whilk thay ar not abill to expell !  
 My purpois was, befoir I ressavit your letter, to have exhortit you to pacience and to fast adhering to Godis promisis albeit that your flesche, the divill, and uther your enemyis, wald persuad you to the contrare, for, by the artis and subteliteis that the adversarie useth aganis me, I not onlie do conjecture, but also planelie dois sie your assaltis and trubil. And sa lykwys in the howellis of Christis mercie maist ernistlie I beseik you by that infirmitie that ye knaw remaneth in me (wars I am than I can wryt) pacientlie to beir, albeit that ye haif no sic perfectioun as ye wald, and albeit also your motionis be sie as be maist vyle and abominabill, yet not to sorrow abuf measure. Gif I to whom God has gevin greater giftis (I wryt to his prais) be yit sa wrappit into miserie, that what I wald I can not do, and what I wald not that with sanct paule, I say, daylie ye everie hour and moment I devys to do, and in my hart, ficht I never sa fast in the contrarie, I perform and do. Gif sie wreachit wickitnes remane in in Godis cheif ministeris, what wonder albeit the same remane in yow. Gif Godis strangest men of war be beattin bak in thair face, that what thay wald thay can not destroy nor kill, is it any sic offence to you to be tossit as ye compleane, that thairfoir ye suld distrust Godis frie promisis ? God forbid, deir mother ! the power of God is knawn be oure weaknes, and theis doloris and infirmiteis be maist profitabill to ws, for by the same is our pryde beattin doun, whilk is not easie utherwayis to be done. By thame ar oure misereis knawin, sa that we acknowledg our selves misterfull seikis the phesitioun. By thame cum we, be the operatioun of the halie spreit, to the hatred of syn, and by thame cum we to the hunger and thirst of justice, and to desyre to be desolved and sa to ring with oure Chryst Jesus, whilk without this battell and sorrow this flesche culd never do. And sa fra the doloris I proceed to the comfort.

As the caussis of dolour be two, whilk ar present syn, and the lack of sic company as in whom we maist culd delyt, sa is the caussis of my comfort not ymaginit of my brane, but pronuneit first be God, and efter graffit in the hartis of Godis children by



his halie spreit. Thay ar lykwys two; whilk is a justice inviolable offerit be our flesche befor the trone of oure heavinlie father, and ane assurit hoip of that generall assemblie and gathering togither of Godis dispersit flok in that day when all teairs salbe wipit fra oure eis, when deth salbe vineuist, and may na mair dissever sie as feiring God this day in the flesche murnis under the burdene of syn. Off oure present justice, notwithstanding syn remane in oure mortall bodeis, ar we assurit by the faithfull witnes of Jesus Chryst, Johne the apostill, saying, "gif we confes our synis, faithfull and just is God to remit and forgive our synnis." Mark the wordis of the apostill, gif we confes oure synnis God man forgive thame, becaus hie is faithfull and just. To confessioun of synnis ar theis thingis requisit, ffirst we man acknowledge the syn, and it is to be notit that sumtymes Godis verie elect, albeit they have synnit maist haynouslie, dois not acknowledge sin, and thairfoir can not at all tymes confes the same, for syn is not knawin unto syetime as the vale be takin fra the conscience of the offender, that hie may sie and behald the filthines of syn, what punishment be Godis just jugementis is dew for the sam. And then (whilk is the 2 thing requisit to confessioun) begynnys the hatred of sin and of oure selves for contempnyng of God and of his halie law, whairof last springis that whilk we call hoip of mercie, whilk is nathing els but a sob fra a trubillit hart, confounded and aschamit for syn, thirsting remissioun and Godis frie mercie, whairupon of necessitie man follow this conclusioun, God has remittit and frelie forgevin the syn, and why? for "hie is faithfull and just" sayeth the apostill. Comfortabill and mervelous caussis! first, God is faithful, ergo hie man forgive syn. A comfortable consequent upon a maist sure ground! for Godis fidelitie, can na mair faill nor can him self. Then lat this argument be gatherit for oure comfort, the office of the faithfull is to keip promiseis but God is faithfull, ergo he man keip promiseis. That God hes promissit remissioun of synis to sie as be repentant, I neid not now recit the places. But let this collectioun of the promiseis be maid, God promissis remissioun of synis, to all that confessis the same, but I confes my synnis, for I sie the filthines thairof, and how justlie God may condemp me for my iniquities. I sob and lament for that I can not be quyt and red of syn, I desyre to leif a mair perfyte lyfe. Thir ar infallible signis, seillis, and takenis that God has remittit the syn, for God is faithfull that sa hes promissit, and can na mair deceave nor hie can eis to be God. But what reasone is this, God is just, thairfoir he man forgive syn? A wonderous caus and reasone in deid! ffor the flesche and naturall man can understand nathing but the

contrar, for this man it reasone : the justice of God is offendit be my sinis, sa God man neidis have a satisfactioun, and requyre ane punissment. Gif we understand of whome God requyris satisfactioun, whether of ws, or of the handis of his onlie sone, and whais punissment is abill to recompens our synnis, than sall we haif greit caus to reiose, remembering that God is a just God, for the office of the just man is to stand content when he hes ressavit his dewtie. But God hes ressavit alredie at the handis of his onlie sone all that is dew for our synnis, and sa can not his justice requyre nor craif any mair of ws ather satisfactioun or recompensatioun for our synnis. Advert, mother, the sure pilleris and foundatioun of oure salvation to be Godis faithfulness and justice. Hie that is faithful has promissit frie remissioun to all penitent synneris, and he that is just, hes ressavit alredie a full satisfaction for the synnis of all thais that imbrace Chryst Jesus to be the onlie saviour of the warld. What restis than to ws to be done, nathing but to acknowledge oure miserie ane wretchednes, whilk na flesche can do sa un feindlie as they that daylie feillis the wecht of syn. And uther, mother, caus haif we nane of disperatioun, albeit the divill rage never sa cruellie, and albeit the flesche be never sa fraill, daylie and hourlie lusting aganis Godis halie commandementis, ye stryving aganis the same. This is not the time of justice befor oure awn eis, we luke for that whilk is promissit, the kingdome everlasting, preparit to ws fra the begynning, whairof we ar maid airis be Godis apoyntment, reabillit [*legitimated* or *restored*] thairto be Chrystis death, to whome we sall be gatherit, when efter we sall never depart, whilk to remember is my singular comfort, but thair of now I can not wryt. My commendationis to all whom effeiris. I commit you the protectioun of the Omnipotent.

At Londoun the 23d of June, 1553, your sone unfeaned,

Johne Knox.

No. II. [MS. Letters, p. 333.]

To marjorie bowis wha was his first wyfe.

Deir libelovit sister in the commoun faith of Jesus our saviour. The place of Johne forbidding ws to salut sic as bringeth not the hailsome doctrine, admonisseth ws what danger cumeth be fals teacheris, evin the destructioun of bodie and saule; whairfoir the spreit of God willeth ws to be sa cairfull to avoyd the company of all that teachis doctrine contrarie to the treuth of Christ, that we communicat with thame in nathing that may appeir to manteane or defend thame in thair corrupt opinioun, for hie that bidis thame Godspeid, communicatis with thair sin, that is, hie that apeiris be keeping thame company, or assisting unto thame in thair proceedingis to savour thair doctrine is giltie befor God of

thair iniquitie, baith becaus hie doith confirme thame in thair error be his silence, and also confirmes utheris to credit thair doctrine becaus hie opponis not himself thairto and sa to bid thame Godspeid is not to speik unto thame commounlie as we for civill honestie to men unknowen, but it is efter we have hard of their fals doctrine to be conversant with thame and sa intreat thame as thay had not offendit in thair doctrine. The place of Jamis teachis us belovit sister that in Jesus Chryst all that unfeandlie profas him ar equall befor him and that ryches nor worldlie honouris ar nathing regairdit, in his syght, and thairfoir wald the spreit of God speiking in the apostill that sic as ar trew Christianis suld have mair respect to the spirituall giftis whairwith God had doteth his messingeris nor to externall ryches whilk oftymes the wicket possessis the having whairof makis man nether nobill nor godlie, albeit sa judge the blind affectionis of men. The apostill dampneth sic as preferis a man with a goldin chayne to the pure, but heirof will I speik no more. The spreit of God sall instruct your hart what is maist comfortable to the trubillit conscience of your mother, and pray ernstlie that sa may be. Whair the adversarie objectis, 'sehe aucht not think wicket thoughts,' answer thairto that is trew, but seing thisoure nature is corruptit with syn whilk enturit be his suggestioun, it must think and wirk wickitlie be his assaltis, but hie sall beir the condigne punisment thairrof, becaus be him syn first enturit, and also be him it doith continew whillis this karkais be resolved. And whair hie inquiryis what Chryst is, answer hie is the seid of the woman promissit be God to break down the serpentis heid, whilk hie hath done alreadie in him self appeiring in thisoure flesche, subject to all passionis that may fall in thisoure nature onlie syn exceptit, and efter the death sufferit hie beth be power of his godheid rissin agane triumphant victour over deth, hell and syn, not to him self, for thairto was hie na dettour, but for sic as thristis salvatioun be him onlie, whom hie may na mair los, nor he may ceas to be the sone of God and the saviour of the world. And whair hie wald perswade that sehe is contrarie the word thairunto, hie leis according to his nature, whairin thairin is na treuth, for gif sehe wer contrarie the word, or denyit it, to what effect sa ernstlie suld sehe desyre the company of sic as teacheth and professeth it. Thair is na dout but hie, as hie is the accusatour of all Godis elect, studieth to trubill her conscience, that according to hir desyre, sehe may not rest in Jesusoure Lord. Be vigilant in prayer. I think this be the first letter that ever I wrait to you.

In great haist your brother,

Johne Knox.



## No. III. [MS. Letters, p. 283.]

Ffrom the eis of his sanctis sal the Lord wype away all teiris  
and murnyng. (See p. 95.)

Dear mother and spous unfeanidlie belovit in the bowells of  
oure Saviour Chryst Jesus, with my very hartlie commendationis  
I peruisit baith your letteris, not only directit to me, but also it  
that sorrowfullie compleanis upon the unthankfulnes of your bro-  
ther as also of myne, that ye suld not have bene equallie maid  
privie to my coming in the countrie with utheris, whairof the  
enemy wald persuad yow (ane argument maist fals and untrew)  
that we judge you not to be of our noumber. Deir mother, be not sa  
suddanlie moveit, hie is your enemy that sa wald persuad you,  
God I tak to recorde in my conscience that nane is this day with-  
in the realme of Ingland, with whome I wald mair gladlie speik  
(onlie seche whome God hath offerit unto me, and commandit me  
to lufe as my awn flesche, exceptit) than with you. For your  
causis principallie interpryse I this jurney. for hering my ser-  
vand to be stayit, and his letteris to be takin, I culd na wys be  
pacifeit (for the maist part of my letteris was for your instruc-  
tioun and comfort) till farther knowlege of your estait, and that  
ye wer na soner advertisit onlie want of a faithfull messinger was  
the caus, for my coming to the countrey, was sa sone noysit  
abrod that with greit difficultie culd I be convoyit fra a place to  
another. I knew na sic danger as was suspectit be my brethrene;  
ffor as for my letteris in them is nathing conteanid, except exhor-  
tatioun to constancie in that treuth whilk God hes opiniie laid  
befoir our eis, whilk I am not myndit to deny whenever sic ques-  
tioun sal be demandit of me. But the caus moveing me that ffor  
a tyme I wald have bene clos, was, that I purposit (gif sa had  
bene possible) to have spokin with my wyfe, whilk now I per-  
save is nathing apeirand, whill God offer sum better occasioun.  
My brethren, partlie be admonitioun, and partlie by teiris, com-  
pellis me to obey sumwhat contrair to my awn mynd, for never can  
I die in a mair honest quarrel, nor to suffer as a witnes for that  
treuth whairof God hes maid me a messinger, whilk with hart I  
belive maist assuredlie, (the halie Gaist beiring witnes to my con-  
science) and with mouth I trust to God to confes in presence of  
the world the onlie doctrine of lyfe. Notwithstanding this my  
mynd, gif God sall prepar the way, I will obey the voce of my  
brethrene, and will gif place to the furie and rage of Sathan for  
a tyme. And sa can I not espy how that ether of yow baith I  
can speik at this tyme. But, gif God pleis preserve me at this  
tyme, whairof I am not yet resolved, then sal yow lak in me na  
gud wil, that ye may knaw the place of my residence, and farther

of my mynd. But now dear mother haif we caus to rejos, for oure heavenlie Father, who callit us be grace to wryt in oure hartis the signis and seallis of our electioun in Chryst Jesus his sone, beginnis now to correct our cruikedness, and to mak us lyke in suffering afflictionis, schame and rebuke of the world, to the greit bishope of our saullis, wha by mekill tribulatioun did enter in his glorie, as of necessitie man everie ane to whome that kingdome is apoyntit. And thairfor, mother be nathing abasched of theis maist dolorous dayis, whilk schortlie sal have end to oure everlasting comfort. Thay ar not cropin upon ws without knowledge and foursight how oft have ye hard theis dayis foirspokin, thairfor, now grudge not, but pacientlie abyd the Lords delyverance. Hie that foirspak the trubill, promissis everlasting pleasure by the same word, albeit the flesche compleene, despair nathing, for it must follow the awn nature, and it is not dampnabill in the syght of oure Father, albeit the corrupt fraill flesche draw bak and refuse the croce, for that is as naturall to the flesh, as in hunger and thirst to covet rasonable sustenance. Onlie follow not the affectionis to comit iniquytie, nether for feir of deth, nor for love of life, comit ye idolatrie, nether yet gif your presenece whair the same is committit, but hait it, avoid it, and flie from it. But your leter maks mention that ye haif pleasure and delyt in it, na mother espy the contrarie, for ye compleane and lament that sic motions ar within you, this is na sing that ye delyt in thame, for na man compleanis of that whairin hie delytis. Ye ar in na wors eas, tuiching that point, nor yet tuiching that nether whair of ye desyre to be red than was the apostill, when with grouyng and angusche of hart hie did cry, ‘O unhappie man that I am, wha sal delyver me fra this bodie of syn?’ reid the haill chapter, and gif glorie to God that lettis you know your awn infirmitie, that from Chryst allone ye may be content, to ressave that whilk never remanit in corruptibill flesche, that is the justice whilk is acceptabill befor God, the justice by faith and not by workis, that ye may glorie in him wha frelie gives that whilk we deserve not. And thus nether feir that, nor uther assaltis of the divill, sa lang as in bodie ye obey not his persuasionis. Schortnes of time, and multitude of cairis will not let me wryt at this present sa plentifullie as I wald, ye will me to charge you in such thingis as I mister, God grant that ye may be abill to releif the nedie, ye may be sure that I wald be bold upon you, for of your gude hart I am persuadit, but of your power and abilitie, I greitlie dout. I will not mak you privie how ryche I am, but off Loundoun I departit with les money than ten grottis, but God hes sence provydit, and will provyd I dout not heirefter abundantlie for this

lyfe. Ather the quenis majestie, or sum thesaurer will be XL pounds rycher by me for samekill lack I of dentie of my patentis. But that littill trubillis me. Rest in Chryst Jesus. your sone,  
John Knox.

No. IV. [MS. Letters, p. 303.]

To his mother in law, Mrs. Bowis.

Blissit be thais that mourne for ryghteousnes sake, &c.

Belovit mother with my hartlie commendatioun in the Lord. Let not your present dulnes discourage yow above measure, the wisdom of our God knowis what is maist expedient for our fraill nature; Gif the bodie suld alwayis be in travell it suld faynt and be unabill to continew in labour, the spreit hes his travell whilk is a sobbing and mournyng for syn, fra whilk unles it sumtymes suld rest, it suddanlie suld be consumit. It doith na mair offend Godis maiestie that the spreit sumtyme ly as it were asleip, nether having sence of greit dolour nor greit comfort mair than it doith offend him that the bodie us the naturall rest ceassing fra all externall exercis. Ye sall consider, mother, that the eis of God dois pers mair deiplye than we be war of, we according to the blind ignorance whilk lurketh within ws, do judge but as we feil for the present, but hie according to his eternall wisdom dois judge thingis lang befor thay cum to pas. We judge that caldnes and angusche of spreit ar hurtfull becaus we sie not the end whairfoir God dois suffer ws to be troubillit with sic temptationis, but his maiestie wha onlie knowis the mass whairof man is maid, and causeth all thingis to work to the profit of his elect, knowis also how necessarie sic troubillis ar to dantoun the pryd of oure corrupt nature. Thair is a spirituall pryd whilk is not hastelie suppressit in Godis verie elect children as witnesses Sanct Paule. God hath wroth greit thingis be yow in the syght of uthir men. Without whilk (unles the mell of inward angusche did beat them down) ye might be steirit up to sum vane glorie whilk is a venoume mair subtile than ony man do espy. I can wryt to yow be my awn experience. I have sumtymes bene in that securitie that I felt not dolour for syn, nether yit displeasure aganis my self for any iniquitie in whilk I did offend, but rather my vane hart did this flatter my self, (I writ the treuth to my awn confusioun and to the glorie of my heavenlie father through Jesus Christ,) "Thou hes sufferit great troubill for professing of Chrystis treuth, God hes done great thingis for the, delivering the fra that maist cruell bondage, [*'galleis' in the margin,*] hie has placeit the in a maist honorabill vocation and thy labours ar not without frute, thairfoir thou aucht rejos and gif prais unto God." O mother this was



a subtill serpent wha this culd pour in vennoume, I not perceaving it; but blissit be my God wha permitteth me not to sleip lang in that estait. I drank schortlie efter this flatterie of myself a cupe of contra poysons, the bitternes whair of doith yit sa remane in my breist, that whatever I have sufferit or presentlie dois, I reput as doun, yea and my self worthie of dampnatioun for my ingratitude towardis my God. The lyke, mother, may have cumin to yow, gif the secrete brydill of afflictioun did not refrane vane cogitationis, but of this I have written to yow mair planelie in my other letteris. And this I commit you to the protectioun of the Omnipotent for ever.

Yours at his power,

Johne Knox.

No. V. [MS. Letters, p. 352.]

To his brethren in Scotland efter he had bene quyet amang thame.

The comfort of the halie Gaist for salutatioun. (See p. 140.)

Not sa mekill to instruct yow as to leave with yow, dearlie beloved brethren, sum testimony of my love, I have thought gud to communicat with you, in theis few lynes, my weak consall, how I wald ye suld behaive yourselves in the middis of this wickit generatioun, tuiching the exercis of Godis maist halie and sacred word, without the whilk, nether sal knowledge increse, godlines apair, nor fervencie continew amang yow. For as the word of God is the begyning of lyfe spirituall, without whilk all flesche is deid in Godis presenece, and the lanterne to our feit, without the bryghtnes whair of all the posteritie of adame doith walk in darknes. And as it is the fundament of faith without the whilk na man understandeth the gud will of God, sa is it also the onlie organe and instrument whilk God useth to strenthin the weak, to comfort the afflictit, to reduce to mercie be repentance sic as have sliddin, and finallie to preserve and keip the verie lyfe of the saule in all assaltis and temptationis, and thairfor yf ye desyr your knowledge to be inressit, your faith to be confirmit, your consciencis to be quyetit and comfortit, or finallie your saule to be preservit in life, lat your exercis be frequent in the law of your Lord God; despis not that precept whilk moyses, (wha, be his awn experience had learnit what comfort lyeth hid within the word of God) gave to the israelitis in theis wordis: "Theis wordis whilk I command the this day salbe in thi hart, and thou sal exercis thi children in thame, thou sal talk of thame when thou art at home in thi hous, and as thou walkest be the way, and when thou lyes down, and when thou risis up, and thou sal bind thame for a signe upon thi hand. and thay salbe paperis of

remembrance betwene thi eis, and thou sal wryt thame upon the postis of thi hous and upon thi gatis." And moyses in another place commandis thame to remember the law of the Lord God, to do it, that it may be weill unto thame and with thair children in the land whilk the Lord sal gif thame; meanyng that, lyke as frequent memorie and repetitioun of Godis preceptis is the middis whairby the feir of God, whilk is the begynning of all wisdome and filicitie, is keipit recent in mynd, sa is negligence and obliuion of Godis benefitis ressavit the first grie of defectioun fra God; now yf the law whilk be reasone of our weaknes can work nathing but wraith, and anger was sa effectuell that, rememberit and rehersit of purpois to do it, brought to the pepill a corporall benedictioun, what sal we say that the glorious gospel of Chryst Jesus doth work, sa that it be with reverence intreatit. St. Paule calleth [it] the sweit odour of lyfe unto thois that suld resaif lyfe, borrowing his similitude fra odoriferous herbis or precious urguments, whais nature is the mair thay be touchit or moveit to send furth thair odour mair pleasing and delectabill; even sie, deir brethren, is the blysit evangell of our Lorde Jesus; for the mair that it be intreatit, the mair comfortable and mair plysant is it to sie as do heir, read, and exercis the sam. I am not ignorant that, as the isralitis lothit manna becaus that everie day thay saw and eat but ane thing, so sum thair be now a dayis (wha will not be halden of the worst sort) that efter anis reiding sum parcellus of the scriptures do convert thame selves altogether to prophane autors and humane letteris becaus that the varietie of matteris thairin conteynit doith bring with it a daylie delectatioun whair contrariwys within the simpill scriptures of God the perpetuall repetitioun of a thing is facheous and werisome. This temptation I confess may enter in Godis verie elect for a tyme, but impossibill is it that thairin thay continew to the end: for Godis electioun, besydis other evident signis, hath this ever joynit with it that Godis elect ar callit frome ignorance; I speak of thois that ar cum to the yeiris of knowlege, to sum taist and feiling of Godis mercie, of whilk thay ar never satisfet in this lyfe, but fra tyme to tyme thay hunger and thay thirst to eat the bread that descendit fra the heavin, and to drink the water that springeth unto lyfe everlasting, whilk thay cannot do but be the meanis of faith, and faith luketh ever to the will of God, reveallit be his word, sa that faith hath baith her begynning and continewance be the word of God, and sa I say that impossibill it is that Godis chosin children can despys or reject the word of thair salvation be any lang continewance, nether yit loth of it to the end. Often it is that Godis elect ar halden in sie

bondage and thralldome that thay cannot have the bread of lyfe brokin unto thame, nether yit libertie to exercis thame selves in Godis halie word, but then doith not Godis deir children loth, but maist gredilie do thay covet the fude of thair saullis; then do they accuise thair former negligence, then lament and bewaill thay the miserable affliction of thair brethren, and than cry and call thay in thair hartis (and openlie whair thay dar) for frie passage to the gospell, this hunger and thirst doith argue and purife the lyfe of thair saullis. But gif sic men as having libertie to reid and exercis thame selves on Godis halie scripture, and yet do begin to wearie becaus fra tyme to tyme thay reid but a thing; I ask why wearie thay not also everie day to drink wyne, to eat bread, everie day to behald the bryghtnes of the sone, and sa to us the rest of Godis creatures whilk everie day to keip thair awn substance, cours and nature, thay sal anser, I trust, becaus sic creatures have a strenth as oft as thay ar usit to expel hunger, and quenche thirst, to restoir strenth, and to preserve the lyfe. O miserable wreachis, wha dar attribut mair power and strength to the corruptible creatures, in nurisching and preserving the mortal kareas, than to the eternall word of God in nurissment of the saule whilk is immortall! To reasone with thair abominable unthankfulnes at this present it is not my purpois. But to yow, deir brethrene, I wryt my knowledge, and do speik my conscience, that sa necessarie as meat and drink is to the preservatioun of lyfe corporall, and sa necessarie as the heit and bryghtnes of the sone is to the quicknyng of the herbis and to expell darknes, sa necessarie is also to lyfe everlasting, and to the illuminatioun and lyght of the saule, the perpetuall meditatioun, exercis, and use of Godis halie word.

And thairfoir deir brethren, yf that ye luke for a lyfe to come, of necessitie it is that ye exercis yourselves in the buke of the Lord your God. Lat na day slip over without sum comfort resavit fra the mouth of God, opin your earis, and he will speak, evin pleasing thingis to your hart. Clois not your eis, but diligentlie lat thame behald what portioun of substance is left to yow within your fatheris testament. Let your touns learne to prais the gracieous goodnes of him wha of his meir mercie hath callit you fra darknes to lyght, and fra deth to lyfe, nether yet may ye do this sa quyetlie that ye will admit na witnessis; nay brethren, ye ar ordeynit of God to reule and governe your awn housis in his trew feir, and according to his halie word, within your awn housis, I say, in sum caisis ye ar bishopis and kingis, your wyfis, children and familie ar your bishoprick and charge; of you it



sal be requyrit how cairfullie and diligentlie ye have instructit thame in Godis trew knowledge, how that ye have studeit in thame to plant vertew and to repres vyce. And thairfoir, I say, ye must mak thame partakeris in reading, exhortation, and in making commoun prayeris, whilk I wald in everie hous wer usit anis a day at leist. But above all thingis, deir brethren, studie to practis in lyfe that whilk the Lord commandis, and than be ye assurit that ye sal never heir nor reid the same without frute; and this mekill for the excersisis within your housis.

Considdering that St. Paul callis the congregatioun the bodie of Chryst, whairof everie ane of us is a member, teaching us thairby that na member is of suffieience to susteane and feid the self without the help and support of any uther, I think it necessarie that for the conference of scriptures, assemblies of brether be had, the order thairin to be observit, is expressit be sanct paule, and thairfor I need not to use many wordis in that behalf, onlie willing that when ye convene, (whilk I wald wer anis a weik) that your begynning suld be fra confessing of your offence, and invocatioun of the spreit of the Lord Jesus to assist you in all your godlie interpryssis, and than lat sum place of scripture be planelie and distintlie red, samekill as sal be thoecht sufficient for a day or tyme, whilk endit, gif any brother have exhortatioun, interpretatioun or doubt, lat him not feir to speik and move the same, sa that he do it with moderatioun, ether to edifie or be edifiет, and heirof I dout not but great profit sal schortlie ensew, for first be heiring, reiding, and conferring the scriptures in the assemblie, the haill bodie of the scriptures of God sal becum familiar, the judgement and spreits of men salbe tryit, thair patience and modestie salbe knawn, and finallie, their giftis and utterance sal appeir. Multiplicatioun of wordis, perplext interpretatioun, and wilfulnes in reasoning, is to be avoydit at all tymes and in all places, but chieflie in the congregatioun, whair nathing aucht to be respectit except the glorie of God, and comfort or edificatioun of our brethrene. Yf any thing occur within the text, or yit arys in reasyng, whilk your judgementis can not resolve, or capacities apprehend, let the same be notit and put in wryt befoir ye depart the congregatioun, that when God sal offer unto you any interpreter your douts being notit and knawn, may have the mair expedit resolutioun, or els that when ye sal have occasioun to wryt to sic as with whome ye wald communicat your judgementis, your letteris may signifie and declair your unfeaned desyre that ye have of God and of his trew knowledge, and thay, I dout not, according to thair talentis, will indeavour and bestow thair faithful labours, [to] satisfie your godlie petitionis, of myself I will

speik as I think, I will moir glaidlie spend XV houris in communicatting my judgement with you, in explainyng as God pleassis to oppin to me any place of scripture, then half ane hour in any other matter besyd.

Farther, in reading the scriptures I wald ye suld joyne sum bukis of the ald, and sum of the new Testament together, as genesis and ane of the evangelistis, exodus with another, and sa furth, ever ending sic bukis as ye begyn, (as the tyme will suffer) for it sal greitly comfort you to heir that harmony, and weiltunit sang of the hale spreit speiking in oure fatheris from the begynning. It sal confirme you in theis dangerous and perrellous dayis, to behald the face of Chryst Jesus, his loving spous and kirk, from eabell to him self, and frome him self to this day, in all ageis to be ane. Be frequent in the prophetis and in the epistellis of St. paule, for the multitude of matteris maist comfortable thairin containit, requyreth exercis and gud memorie. Lyke as your assemblis aucht to begyn with confessioun and invocatioun of Godis halie spreit, sa wald I that thay wer never finissit without thanksgiving and commoun prayeris for princees, ruleris, and majestratis, for the libertie and frie passage of Chrystis evangell, for the comfort and delyverance of oure afflictit brethrene in all places now persecutit, but maist cruellie now within the realme of france and England, and for sic uther thingis as the spreit of the Lord Jesus sal teache unto you to be profitable ether to your selves or yit to your brethrene whairsoever thay be. If this, or better, deir brethrene, I sal heir that ye exercis your selves, than will I prais God for your great obedience, as for thame that not onlie have ressavit the word of grace with gladnes, but that also with cair and diligence do keip the same as a treasure and jewell maist precious. And becaus that I can not expect that ye will do the contrarie at the present, I will use na threatenings, for my gud hoip is, that ye sal walk as the sonis of lyght in the middis of this wicket genertioun, that ye sal be as starris in the nyght ceasone, wha yit ar not changeit into darknes, that ye salbe as wheit amangis the kokill, and yit that ye sal not change your nature whilk ye have ressavit be grace, through the fellowship and participatioun whilk we have with the Lord Jesus in his bodie and blude. And finallie, that ye salbe of the noumber of the prudent virgins, daylie renewing your lampis with oyle, as the that pacientlie abyed the glorious aparitioun and cuming of the Lord Jesus, whais omnipotent spreit rule and instruct, illuminat and comfort your hartis in all assaltis, now and ever. Amen.

The grace of the Lord Jesus rest with you. Remember my weaknes in your daylie prayeris.

the 7 of July, 1556.

your brother unfeaned,

Johne Knox.

No. VI. [MS. Letters, p. 335-6.]

To his Sister.

The spreit of God the father be Jesus Chryst, comfort and assist yow to the end. Amen.

Touching the sonis of Jacob, who cruellie contrar to thair solemnpned promiseis and othe, did murther and slay the citisenis of Sichem; whasa ryghtlie marketh the scriptures of God, sa leaslie espy thame maist grevouslie to have offendit. Ffor albeit the transgressioun of the young man was haynous befor God, yit wer thay na civill majestratis, and thairfoir had na autoritie to punis. And farther, thay committit treasone, and in sa fer as in thame was, blasphemit God and his halie name, making it odius to the nationis about, seing thay under the pretence of religioun, and of ressavng thame in leage with God and with the pepill, did disceatfullie as also cruellie destroy the haille citie suspecting na danger. Albeit sum laboureth to excus thair syn be the zeall thay had that thay myght not suffer thair sister to be abusit lyke ane harlot, yit the spreit of God speiking in thair awn father efter lang advysement in the extremitie of his deth, utterlie dampneth thair wickit act, saying, "Semioun and Levi, brethren, &c. lat not my saule entir in thair consall, nor yit my glorie into thair company, for in thair furie thay killit a man, and for thair lust, destroit the citie, cursit is thair heit or rage for it is vehement, and thair indignatioun for it is untractable, I sall dispers thame in Jacob and scatter thame abrod in Israell." Heir may ye espy, sister, that God dampneth thair het displeasure and cruell act as maist wickit and worthie of punisment. But perehance it may be inquiryt why did God suffer the men that had professit his name be ressavng the sign of circumcisioun sa unmercifullie to be intreatit. I myght answer, God sufferis his awn in all ageis be the ungodlie to be cruellie tormentit. But sic was not the case of thir men whom na dout the justice of God faund cryminall and worthie the deth. Ffor thay did abus his sacramentall signe, receaving it nether at Godis commandment nor having any respect to his honour nor to the advancement of his name, nor yit trusting in his promissis nor desyreing the ineres or multiplica-



tioun of Godis pepill, but onlie for a warldlie purpois, thinking thairby to have attaynit ryches and ease, be joyning thameselves to Godis pepill. And sa the justice of God faund thame worthie of punishment, and sa permittit thame justlie on his part to be afflietit and destroyit be the ungodlie, whilk is a terribil exempill to sie as in caus of religioun mair seikis the profit of the world nor eternall salvatioun. But heiroy na mair. Thus briffie and rudlie have I writtin unto yow becaus I remember myself anis to have maid yow a promeis sa to do, and everie word of the mouth of the faithfull (yf sa impeid not God) aught to be keipit. And now rest in Chryst. After this I think ye sall resave na mair of my handis. In haist with sair trubillit hart.

Yours as ever in Godlines,

[Anno 1553.]

Johne Knox.

No. VII. [Cald MS. Vol. I. p. 427.\*]

Extract of a Letter to Mrs. Anne Locke. (See p. 188.)

— The Queen and her counsell made promise that no person within Sanct Johnston, neither yet of these that assisted them, should be troubled for any thing done either in religion, either yet in down casting of places, till the sentance of the estates in Parliament had decided the controversie, and that no bands of French souldiers should be left behind the Queen and counsell in the town, and that no idolatrie should be erected nor alteration made within the town. But after she had obtained her desire, all godlie promises were forgotten, for the Sunday next after her entering, mess wer said upon a *dyeing* table (for ye shall understand all the altars were prophaned;) the poor professors were oppressed; when children were slain, she did but smile, excusing the fact be the chance of fortune; and at her departure she left 400 souldiers, Scottismen, but paid by France, to dautoun the town. She changed the provist and exiled all godlie men. This crueltie and deceit displeased many that before assisted her with their presence and counsell, and among others the earl of Argyle and the prior of Sanct Andrews left [her,] and joyned themselves to the congregation openly, whilk as it was displeasing to her and to the shavellings, so it was most comfortable and joyfull to us, for by their presence were the hearts of many erected from desperation. At their commandment I repaired to them to St. Andrewis, wher consultation being had, it was concludet that Christ Jesus should there be openlie preached, that the places and monuments of idolatrie should be removed,

\* The following letters from Calderwood, have been corrected by comparing different MSS.

and superstitious habits changed. This reformation was begun the 14th of June. In the meantime came the bishop of St. Andrews to the towne accompanied with a great band of warriors, and gave a strate commandment that no preaching should be made by me who was both brunt in figure and horned, assuring the lords that if they suffered me to preach that twelve haquebuts should lyght upon my nose at once. O burning charitie of a bloodie bishop! But as that boast did little affray me, so did it more incense and inflamme with courage the harts of the godlie, who with one voyce proclaimed that Christ Jesus should be preached in despite of Sathan, and so that Sabbath and three dayes after I did occupy the publike place in the midst of the doctors who this day are even as dumbe as their idols which wer brunt in their presence. The bishop departed to the Queene, frustrat of his intent, for he had promised to bring me to her either alive or dead: and incontinent was a new army assembled, and forward they march against St. Andrews. It was not thought expedient that we should abide them lurking in a town, and so we past to the fields and met them at Couper, where lodging was appointed for the camp, but we prevented them: where we remained upon their coming till the nixt day, when both armies were in sight of other within shot of cannon, and we looked for nothing but the extremitie of battle: not that we intended to pursue, but only to stand in camp where our field was pitched for defence of ourselves. There came from our adversaries an ambassadour desiring speech and communing of the lords, which gladlie of us being granted, after long reasoning the queene offered a free remission of all crimes bypast, sua that they would no further proceed against friars and abbayes, and that no more preaching should be used publicklye. But the lords and the brethren refused such appointment, declaring that the fear of no mortal creature should cause them betray the veritie known and professed, neither yet to suffer idolatri to be maintained in the bounds committed to their charge. The adversaries perceiving that neither threatening, flatterie, nor deceit, could break the bold constancie and godlie purpose of the lords, barons, gentlemen, and commons, who were there assembled to the number of 3000 in one days warning, they were content to take assurance for 8 days, permitting unto us freedom of religion in the mean time. In the whilk the abbay of Lindores, a place of black monkes, distant from St. Andrews twelve myles we reformed. their altars overthrew we, their idols, vestments of idolatrie, and mass books we burnt in their presence, and commanded them to cast away their monkish habits. Divers chanons of St. An-

drewis have given notable confessions and have declared themselves manifest enemies to the pope, to the mass, and to all superstition. [*Then follows what is inserted p. 195.*] We fear that the tyrannie of France shall, under the cloak of religion, seek a plain conquest of us; but potent is God to confound their counsell and to break their force. God move the hearts of such as profess Christ Jesus with us, to have respect to our infancie, and open their eyes to see that our ruin shall be their destruction. Communicat the contents hereof (which I write to you, least by divers rumours ye should be troubled and wee slandered) with all faithfull, but especially with the afflicted of that little flock, now dispersed and destitute of these pleasant pastures, in which some tyme they fed abundantlie. If any remain at Geneva let either this same or the double of it be sent unto them, and likewise unto my dear brother Mr. Goodman, whose presence I more thirst for than she that is my own flesh. Will him therfor in the name of the Lord Jesus (all delay and excuse set apart) to visit me; for the necessity is great here. If he comes be sea, let him be addressed unto Dundee, and let him ask for George Levell, for George Rollock, or for Wm. Carmichael. If he come to Leith, let him repair to Edinburgh, and enquire for James Baron, Edward Hope, Adam Fullertoun, or for John Johnston writer, he whom he will get knowledge of me. If my mother and my wife come be you, will them to make the expedition that goodly they can to visit me, or at least to come to the north parts, where they shall know my mind, which now I can not write, being oppressed with hourly cares. This bearer is a poor man unknown in the country, to whom I beseech you shew reasonable favour and tenderness, touching his merchandize and the just selling thereof. Thus, with hearty commendatiouns to all faithful, I heartily commit you to the protection of the Omnipotent. From Sanct Andrewes the 23d of June 1559.

No. VIII. [Cald. MS. I. 380.]

Extract of a Letter to Mrs. Anne Locke, dated 6th of April 1559.  
(See p. 384.)

— Your letters, dear sister, dated at Geneva the 17th of February, received I in Deepe the 17th of March. Touching my negligence in writing to you, at other times I fear it shall be little amended, except that better occasions than yet I know be offered. For oft to write when few messingers can be found is but foolishness. My remembrance of you is not yet so dead, but I trust it shall be fresh enough, albeit it be renewed be no outward token



for one year. Of nature I am churlish, and in conditions different from many. Yet one thing I am ashamed not to affirm that familiarity once thoroughly contracted was never yet broken by my default. The cause may be that I have rather need of all than that any have need of me.

No. IX. [Cald. I. 522.]

To Mrs. Anne Locke. (See p. 217.)

Lest that the rumours of our troubles, trouble you above measure, dear sister, I thought good in these few words to signify unto you that our esperance is yet good in our God, that he for his great names sake will give such success to this enterprise as neither shall these whom he hath appointed to sigh in this be utterly confounded, neither yet that our enemies shall have occasion to blaspheme the verity, nor yet triumph over us in the end. We trusted too much, dear sister, in our own strength, and specially since the earl of Arran and his friends were joyned to our number. Amongst us also were such as more sought the purse than Christ's glory. Wee by this overthrow are brought to acknowledge, what is a multitude without the present help of God! and the hollow hearts of many are now revealed. God make us humble in his eyes, and then I fear not the furie of the adversaries, who, be ye assured, doe sore rage, so as yet their crueltie must needs crave vengeance from him whose members they persecute. Our dear brethren and sisters in Edinburgh and Lothian who lay nearest these bloodie thirsty tyrants, are so troubled and vexed that it is a pity to remember their estate. Our God comfort them. We stand universally in great fear, and yet we hope deliverance. I wrote to you before to be suitor to some faithfull, that they would move such as have abundance to consider our estate, and to make for us some provision of money to keep soldiers and our company together. And herein yet again I cannot cease to move you. I can not well write to any other because the action may seem to appertain to my own country onlie. But because I trust ye suspect me not of avarice, I am bold to say to you that if we perish in this our enterprise, the limits of London will be straiter than they are now within few years. Many things I have which I would have required for myself, namely Calvin on Isaiah, and his Institutions revised. But common troubles cause me to neglect all private business. If ye can find the means to send me the books before written, or any other that be new and profitable, I will provide that ye shall receive the prices upon your advertisement. My wife salueth you. Salute all faithfull heartlie in

my name, especially those of familiar acquaintance, of whom I crave pardon that I write not, being not so quiet as ye would wish. My onlie comfort is that our troubles shal pass sooner, peradventure than our enemies look. Grace be with you. From St. Andrews in haste the 18th November 1559. Yours known.

John Knox.

Mr. Gudeman is in the west country in Ayr who willed me to salute you in his name so oft as I wrote you.

No. X. [Cald. I. 524.]

To the same. (See p. 217.)

We shall meet when death shall not dissever.

Two letters I have received from you, dear sister, both almost at one time, the one is dated at London the 28th of November, the other of the same place the 2nd of December. The letter of the last date I first read, which made mention of your trouble be reason of a suddan fire in a lodging near to you; that you had sought all means for our support as well of those of high as of low degree; but that it was not needfull that any thing should be sent unto us because it was supposed that the highest would support us; and last that ye had not received the answer of your doubts. In your other letters, after your most comfortable discourse of God's providence for his people in their greatest necessitie, ye godlie and trulie conclude that neither could their unworthiness, neither yet their want of things judged necessarie for their preservation stop his majestie's mercie from them. Thereafter ye will me to avoid danger and rather to fight by prayer in some place removed from danger than expose my self to the hazard of battell, and so ye conclude by praising God's mercie as did Jeremy in his greatest anguish, &c.

What support should come to us be consent of counsell and authoritie I am uncertain. But suppose it shall be greater than yet is bruted, that ought not to stay the liberall hands of the godlie to support us privatelie. For the publick support of an army shall not make such as now be superexpended able to serve without private support. I will make the matter more plain be one example. I know one man that since the 10th of May hath spent in this action thirteen thousand crowns of the summe [sonne,] besydes his victuals and other fruits of the ground. His treasure being now consumed, he cannot without support susteane the number which before he brought to the field. If he and such.

others that are in lyke condition with him shall be absent, or yet if their numbers shall decay, our enemies shall seem to prevail in the field, and therfor desired I some collection to be made, to the end that the present necessitie of some might have been relieved. If the matter pertained not to my native countrie I would be more vehement in persuasion, but God shall support even how, when, and by whom it shall please his blessed majestie. Sorry I am that ye have not received my answer unto your doubts, not so much that I think that ye greatlie need them, as that I would not put you in suspicion that I contemned your requests. The rest of my wife hath been so unrestful since her arrival here, that scarcelie could she tell upon the morrow what she wrote at night. She cannot find my first extract. And therfor if any scruple remaine in your conscience, put pen again to paper, and look for ane answer as God shall give opportunitie. God make your self participant of the same comfort which you wrote unto me: and in very deed, dear sister, I have no less need of comfort, notwithstanding that I am not altogether ignorant, than hath the bound man to be fed, albeit in store he hath great substance. I have read the cares and tentations of Moses, and sometymes I have supposed myself to be well practised in such dangerous battells. But alace! I now perceive that all my practice before was but mere speculation, for one day of troubles since my last arrival in Scotland hath more pierced my heart than all the torment of the galleys did the space of 19 months. For that torment for the most part did touch the bodie, but this pierceeth the soul and inward affections. Then was I assuredlie persuaded that I should not die untill I had preached Christ Jesus even where I now am, and yet having now my heart's desyre, I am nothing satisfied, neither yet rejoice. My God remove my unthankfulness. From Sanct Andrews the last of December 1559.

Yours known in Christ.

John Knox.

No. XI. [Cald. I. p. 533.]

To the same. (See p. 218.)

The eternal our God shall shortly put an end to all our troubles.

Lest that sinister rumours should trouble you above measure, dear sister, I cannot but certify you of our estate as often as convenient messengers occur. The French, as before I wrote unto you, have pursued us with great furie, but God hath so bridled



them, that since the 5th day when they put to flight the men of Kinghorn, Kirealdy, and Dysart, they have had of us (all praise be to our God) no advantage. They lost in a morning a lieutenant, the boldest of their company, and forty of their bravest soldiers, diverse of them having been taken and diverse slain in skirmishing. They have done greatest harm to such as did best entertain them; for from them they have taken sheep, horse, and plenishing. Our friends, and foes to them, did continually remove from their way, all moveables that to them appertained. They have casten down to the ground the laird of Grange's principal house, called the Grange, and have spoiled his other places. God will recompense him, I doubt not, for in this cause and since the beginning of this last trouble specially, he hath behaved himself so boldly as never man of our realm hath deserved more praise. He hath been in many dangers, and yet God hath delivered him above mens expectation. He was shot at Lundie right under the left pape, thorow the jacket, doublet, and shirt, and the bullet did stick in one of his ribs. Mr. Whitelaw hath gotten a fall, by which he is unable to bear arms. But God be praised both their lives be saved. I remained all this time in St. Andrews with sorrowful heart, and yet as God did minister his spirit comforting the afflicted, who, albeit they quaked for a time, yet do now praise God who suddenly averted from them that terrible plague devised for them by the ungodly. The French men approached within 6 miles, yet at the sight of certain of your ships, they retired more in one day than they advanced in ten. We have had wonderful experience of God's merciful providence, and for my own part I were more than unthankful if I should not confess that God hath heard the sobs of my wretched heart, and hath not deceived me of that little spark of hope which his holy spirit did kindle and foster in my heart. God give me grace to acknowledge his benefit received, and to make such fruit of it as becometh his servant. If ye can find a messenger, I heartily pray you to send me the books for which I wrote before. I must be bold over your liberality not only in that, but in greater things as I shall need. Please you cause this other letter inclosed be surely conveyed to Miles Coverdale. Salute all faithfull acquaintance, Mr. Hickman and his bedfellow, your husband, Mr. Michael and his spouse as unacquainted, specially remembered. I know not what of our brethren at Geneva be with you. But such as be there I beseech you to say that I think that I myself do now find the truth of that which oft I have said in their audience, to wit that after our departure from Geneva should our dolour beginne

But my good hope is in God that it shall end to his glory and our comfort. Rest in Christ Jesus. From Sanct Andrews the 4th of February 1559.

Your brother.

John Knox.

No. XII. [Cald. II. p. 89.]

To Mr. John Wood, Secretary to the Regent, 14th Feb. 1568.

My purpose, beloved in the Lord, concerning that which oft, and now last ye crave, I wrote to you before, from which I can not be moved, and therefore, of my friends I will ask pardon, howbeit on that one head I play the churle, retaining to myself that which will rather hurt me than profit them, during my days, which I hope in God shall not be long, and then it shall be in the opinion of others whether it shall be suppressed, or come to light.\* God for his great mercies sake put such end to the troubles of France, as the purity of his evangell may have free passage within that realme; and idolatry with the maintainers of the same may once be overthrown be order of justice, or otherwise as his godly wisdom hath appointed. In my opinion England and Scotland have both no less cause to fear than the faithfull in France, for what they suffer in present action is laid up in store, let us be assured, for both countries. The ground of my assurance is not the determination of the council of Trent. for that decree is but the utterance of their own malice; but the justice of God is my assurance, for it cannot spare to punish all realmes and nations that is or shall be like to Jerusalem, against whose iniquity God long cried be his servants the prophets, but found no repentance. The Truth of God hath been now of some years manifested to both, but what obedience, the words, works and behaviour of men give sufficient testimony. God grant Mr. Gudman a prosperous and happy success in the acceptance of his charge, and in all his other enterprises to God's glory and the comfort of his kirk; and so will I the more patiently bear his absence, weaning myself from all comfort that I looked to have received by his presence and familiarity. Because I have the testimony of a good conscience, that in writing of that treatise against which so many worldly men have stormed, and yet storm, I neither sought myself nor worldly promotion, and because as yet I have neither heard nor

\* He seems to refer here to his History of the Reformation.

seen law nor scripture to overthrow my ground,\* I may appeal to a more indifferent judge than Dr. Jewell. I would most gladly pass through the course that God hath appointed to my labours, in meditation with my God, and giving thanks to his holy name, for that it hath pleased his mercy to make me not a lord bishop, but a painful preacher of his blessed evangell, in the function whereof it hath pleased his majesty for Christ his son's sake to deliver me from the contradiction of more enemies than one or two, which maketh me the more slow and less careful to revenge be word or writ whatever injury hath been done against me in my own particular. But if that men will not cease to impugne the truth, the faithfull will pardon me if I offend such as for pleasure of flesh fear not to offend God. The defence and maintenance of superstitious trifles produced never better fruit in the end than I perceive is budding amongst you, schisme, which no doubt is a forerunner of greater desolation unless there be speedy repentance.—[*The reader will find what follows already quoted in a note at the foot of p. 322.*] The faithfull of your acquaintance here salute you. The grace of our Lord rest with you.

No. XIII. [Cald. II. 407.]

To the same. (See p. 323.)

I thank you heartily, dearly beloved in the Lord Jesus, that ye had such remembrance of me as to certify of that part which not a little troubled and yet troubleth me. What I have done or am able to do in that behalf I will not trouble you at this present, this only excepted, that it will please you to travel as in the end of your letter ye write ye would do, to wit, that my sons might be Denezans there. I am informed both be letter and be tongue, besides conjectures that probably may be gathered, that the Duke and his friends are inflamed against me. After than once I have called to mind your words to me that day that I had been more than vehement, as some men thought, in the end of the——chapter of John's Evangell concerning the treasonable departure of Judas from Christ, and of the causes thereof. Before that I came forth of the preaching place ye said, Before my God I think your eyes shall see performed that which your mouth hath pronounced. My words were these, I fear that such as have entered with us

\* Referring most probably, to his Treatise against Female Government.



in professing of the Evangell, as Judas did with Christ, shall depart and follow Judas, how soon the expectation of gain and worldly promotion faileth them. Time will try farther, and we shall see overmuch. We look daily for the arrival of the duke and his Frenchmen sent to restore Satan to his kingdome, in the person of his dearest lieutenant, sent, I say, to repress religion, not from the king of France, but from the Cardinall of Lorraine in favour of his dearest niece. Lett England take heed, for surely their neighbours houses are on fire. I would, dear brother, that ye should travell with zealous men, that they may consider our estate. What I would say, ye may easily conjecture. Without support we are not able to resist the force of the domesticall enemies (unless God work miraculously) much less are we able to stand against the puissance of France, the substance of the Pope, and the malice of the house of Guise, unless we be comforted be others than by yourselves. Ye know our estate, and therefore I will not insist to deplore our poverty. The whole comfort of the enemies is this, that be treason or other means they may cutt off the Regent, and then cutt the throat of the innocent king. How narrowly hath the regent escaped once, I suppose ye have heard. As their malice is not quenched, so ceaseth not the practice of the wicked, to put in execution the cruelty devised. I live as a man already dead from all affairs civill, and therefore I praise my God; for so I have some quietness in spirit, and time to meditate on death. and upon the troubles I have long feared and foreseeth. The Lord assist you with his holy spirit and put an end to my travells, to his own glory, and to the comfort of his kirk; for assuredly, brother, this miserable life is bitter unto me. Salute your bedfellow in my name. and the rest in Christ Jesus. The faithfull here salute you. The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ rest with you for ever.

Of Edinburgh the 10 of September 1568.

No XIV. [Cald. II. p. 144.]

Extract of a Letter "To a friend in England." (See p. 384.)

Of Edinburgh, 19th August, 1569.

—If from day to day thir seven years bypast, I had not looked for ane end of my travells, I could have no excuse of my obstinate fault toward you, beloved in the Lord, be whom I have received, beside commendations and letters, diverse tokens of your unfained friendship, yet have I negligently pretermitted all office

of humanity toward you, whereinto I acknowledge my offence, for albeit I have been tossed with many storms all the time before expressed, yet might I have gratified you and others faithful, with some remembrance of my estate, if that this my churlish nature, for the most part oppressed with melancholy, had not stayed tongue and pen from doing of their duty. Yea, even now, when that I would somewhat satisfy your desire, I find within myself no small repugnance, for this I find objected to my wretched heart. "Foolish man! what seeks thou in writing of missives in this corruptible age? Hath thou not a full satiety of all the vanities under the sun? Hath not thy eldest and stoutest acquaintance buried thee in oblivion, and are not thou in that estate be age, that nature itself calleth thee from the pleasures of things temporall? Is it not then more than foolishness unto thee to hunt for acquaintance on the earth, of what estate or condition whatsoever the persons be?" To these objections I could answer nothing, (much more I think than is written) but that I would write with what imperfections I little regard.—

No XV. [Cald. II. p. 269.]

To the Laird of Pittarrow. (See p. 350.)

The end of all worldly trouble and pleasure both approacheth. Blessed are they that patiently abide in the truth, not joining hands nor hearts with impiety, how that ever it triumph.

Right worshipfull, after heartily commendations, your letter, dated at Pittarrow the 14th of July, received I in Sanct Andrews, the 15th of the same. The brute and rumour of Adam Gordon and his doings, and preparations made to resist him was diverse, but nothing that I heard moved me, for I perceive the cup of iniquity is not yet full. Of one thing I am assured, that God of his mercy will not suffer his own to be tempted above measure, neither will he suffer iniquity to be ever unpunished. From me can come no other counsel than ye have heard from the beginning of our acquaintance, to wit, that not only action defileth and maketh guilty before God, but also consent of heart, and all paction with the wicked. Out of bed, and from my book I come not but once in the week, and so few tidings come to me. What order God shall put into the mind of the authority to take for staying of thir present troubles, I know not, but even still my dull heart feareth the worst, and that because no appearance of right conversion unto God, but both the parties stands as it were fighting against God, himself in justification of their wickedness. The murderers assembled in the castle of Edinburgh, and their assisters justify all that they have done to be well and rightly done; and the con-

trar party as little repenteth the troubling and oppressing of the poor kirk of God as ever they did; for if they can have the kirk-lands to be annexed to their houses, they appear to take no more care of the instruction of the ignorant, and of the feeding of the flock of Jesus Christ, than even did the Papists whom we have condemned, and yet are worse ourselves in that behalf: for they according to their blind zeal spared nothing that either might have maintained or holden up that which they took for God's service; but we, alace! in the midds of the light forgett the heaven and draw to the earth. Dayly looking for an end of my battel, I have set forth ane answer to a Jesuit who long hath railed against our religion, as the reading of this tractat will more plainly let you understand. The letter in the end of it, if it serve not for this estate of Scotland, yet it will serve a troubled conscience, so long as the kirk of God remaineth in either realm. With my hearty commendations to your bedfellow, and to my Lord Marshall, the Master, and to the faithful in your company. Deliver to them the book according to their directions, and pray the faithful in my name to recommend me to God in their prayers, for my battel is strong, and yet without great corporal pain. The Lord Jesus who hath once redeemed us, who hath also of his mercy given unto us the light of his blessed countenance, continue us in that light that once we have received externally, and at his good pleasure putt an end to all the troubles of his own spouse, the kirk, which now sobbeth and crieth, Come Lord Jesus, come Lord Jesus; whose omnipotent Spirit conduct you to the end. Amen.

At Sanct Andrews, 19 of July. [1572.]

No. XVI. [Cald. II. 270.]

To Mr. Goodman. (See p. 501.)

Written about the same time with the preceeding.

Beloved brother, I can not praise God of your trouble, but that of his mercie he hath made you one against whom Satan bendeth all his engines, therof unfainedlie I praise my God, beseeching him to strengthen you to fight your battell lawfully to the end. That we shall meet in this life there is no hope; for to my bodie it is impossible to be carried from countrie to countrie, and of your comfortable presence where I am I have small, yea no esperance. The name of God be praised, who of his mercie hath left me so great comfort of you in this life. That ye may understand that my heart is pierced with the present troubles: from the castle of Edinburgh hath sprung all the murthers first and



last committed in this realme, yea, and all the troubles and treasons conspired in England. God confound the wicked devisers with their wicked devises. So long as it pleased God to continue unto me any strength, I ceased not to forewarn these dayes publickly, as Edinburgh can witness, and secretlie, as Mr. Randolph and others of that nation with whom I secretlie conferred can testify. Remedy now on earth resteth none, but onlie that both England and Scotland humbly submit themselves to the correcting hand of God, with humble confession of their former inobedience, that blood was not punished, when he be his servants publickly craved justice according to his law; in which head your realme is no less guilty than we, who now drink the bitter part of the cup, which God of his mercie avert from you. And thus weary of the world, with my hearty commendations to all faithfull acquaintance, Mr. Bodlih and his bedfellow especially remembered, I commit you to the protection of the omnipotent. Off Sanet Andrews.

No. XVIII. [Calderwood's MS. apud an. 1570. Advocates' Library.] (See above, p. 330.)

Prayer used by John Knox, after the Regent's death.

O Lord, what shall we add to the former petitions we know not; yea, alace, O Lord, our owne consciences bear us record that we are unworthie that thou should either encrease or yet continue thy graces with us, be reason of our horrible ingratitude. In our extreame miseries we called, and thou in the multitude of thy mercies heard us, and first thou delivered us from the tyrannie of merciless strangers, next from the bondage of idolatry, and last from the yoke of that wretched woman, the mother of all mischife, and in her place thou didst erect her sonne, and to supply his infancie thou didst appoynt a Regent endued with such graces as the divell himself cannot accuse or justly convict him this only excepted that foolish pity did so farre prevaill in him, concerning execution and punishment which thou commanded to have been execute upon her, and upon her complices, the murtherers of her husband. O Lord, in what miserie and confusion found he this realme! To what rest and quietnesse now be his labours suddanlie he brought the same, all estates, but speeciallie the poor commons, can witness. Thy image, Lord, did so clearlie shyne in that personage, that the divell, and the wicked to whom he is prince, could not abyde it. And so to punish our sinnes and ingratitude, who did not ryghtlie esteem so pretious a gift,

thou hes permitted him to fall, to our great grieve, in the hands of cruell and traterous murtherers. He is at rest, O Lord, and we are left in extreame miserie. Be mercifull to us, and suffer not Satan to prevaill against thy little flocke within this Realme, neither yet O Lord let bloode thirsty men come to the end of their wicked enterprises. Preserve, O Lord, our young king, although he be ane infant; give unto him the spirit of sanetification, with encrease of the same as he groweth in yeares. Let his raigne, O Lord, be such as thou may be glorified, and thy little flock comforted by it. Seeing that we are now left as a flock without a pastor, in civill policie, and as a shippe without a rudder in the middst of the storm, let thy providence watch, Lord, and defend us in these dangerous dayes, that the wicked of the world may see that as weill without the help of man, as with it, thou art able to rule, maintain and defend the little flock that dependeth upon thee. And because, O Lord, the shedding of innocent bloode hes ever been, and yet is odious in thy presence, yea, that it defyleth the whole land where it is shed and not punished, we crave of thee, for Christ thy sonnes sake, that thou wilt so try and punish the two treasonable and cruell murthers latelie committed, that the inventars, devysers, authors, and maintainers of treasonable crueltie, may be either thoroughlie converted or confounded. O Lord, if thy mercy prevent us not, we cannot escape just condemnation, for that Scotland hath spared, and England hath maintained the lyfe of that most wicked woman. Oppose thy power, O Lord, to the pryde of that cruel murtherer of her owne husband; confound her faction and their subtile enterprises of what estate and condition soever they be; and let them and the world know that thou art a God that can deprehend the wise in their own wisdom, and the proude in the imagination of their wicked hearts, to their everlasting confusioun. Lord, retain us that call upon the in thy true fear. Let us grow in the same. Give thou strength to us to fight our battell, yea, Lord, to fight it lawfullie, and to end our lifes in the sanetification of thy holie name.

No. XVIII. [Cald. MS. apud an. 1572. Advocates' Library.]

The last will and words of John Knox, minister of the Evangell of Jesus Christ, put in order at St. Andrews, the 13th May, 1572.

Lord Jesus, I commend my troubled spirit in thy protection and defence, and thy troubled kirk to thy mercie.

Because I have had to doe with diverse personages of the ministrie whereunto God of his mercie directit me within this Realme, my duty craveth that I shall leave unto them now a testimonie of

my myud. And first to the Papists, and to the unthankful world, I say, that although my lyfe hath beene unto them odious, and that often they have sought my destruction, and the destruction of the kirk which God of his great mercie planted within this Realme, and hath alwise preserved and kepted the same from their cruell interpryses, yet to them I am compelled to say, that unlesse they speedilie repent, my departing of this life shall be to them the greatest calamitie that ever yet hath apprehended them. Some small appearance they may have yet in my life, if they had grace to see. A dead man I have beene now almost these two years by-past, and yet I would that they should rypelie consider in what better estate they and their maters stand than they have done before, and they have heard of long tyme before threatned. But, because they will not admit me for admonisher, I give them over to the judgement of him who knoweth the hearts of all, and will disclose the secreets thereof in due time. And this farre to the papists. To the faithfull. Before God, before his sone Jesus Christ, and before his holie angels, I protest that God be my mouth (be I ever so abject) hath shewed to you his truth in all simplicitie. None I have corrupted, none I have defrauded, merchandise I have not made (to God's glorie I write) of the glorious evangell of Jesus Christ, but according to the measure of grace granted unto me, I have devyded the sermon of truth in just parts, beating down the rebellion of the proud in all who did declare their rebellion against God according as God in his law giveth to me yet testimonie, and raising up the consciences troubled with the knowledge of their sinne, be declaring of Jesus Christ, the strenth of his death and mighty operation of his resurrection, in the hearts of the faithfull. Of this I say I have a testimonie this day in my conscience before God, however the world rage. Be constant therfor in the doctrine which once publicklye you have professed. Let not thir scandalous dayes draw you away from Jesus Christ, neither let the prosperitie of the wicked move you to follow it or them. For howsoever that God appeareth to neglect his owne for a season, yet his majestic remaineth a just God who neither can nor will justifie the wicked. I am not ignorant that many would that I should enter in particular determination of thir present troubles, to whom I plainlie and simple answer, that, as I never exceeded the bounds of God's scriptures, so will I not doe in this part be God's grace. But hereof I am assured by him who neither can deceave, nor be deceived that the castell of Edinburgh, in which all the murther, all the trouble, and the whole destruction of this poore commonwealth was invented, and, as our owne eyes may wnesse, be them and their maintainers where put in exe-



cution, shall come to destruction, maintain it whosoever, the destruction I say of bodie and soule, except they repent. I looke not to the momentarie prosperitie of the wicked, yea, although they should remaine conquerours to the coming of our Lord Jesus, but I look to this sentence, that whosoever sheddeth innocent blood defyleth the land, and provoketh Gods wraith against himself and the land, till his bloode he shedd againe be order of law to satisfie God's anger. This is not the first tyme that yee have heard this sentence, although many at all tymes have sturred at such severitie, I yet affirme the same being readie to enter to give an account before his majestie of the stewardship that he committed to me. I know in my death, the rumours shall be strange. But beloved in the Lord Jesus, be yee not troubled above measure, but remaine constant in the truth, and he who of his mercie sent me, conducted me, and prosper the worke in my hand against Satan, will provyde for you abundantlie, when either my bloode shall water the doctrine taught be me, or he of his mercie otherwise provyde to put an end to this my battel.

No XIX. [Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 58. Advocates' Library.]

My Lord Regent's Letter to the Assembly.

After our maist hearty commendationis, seing we are not able to [be] present [at] the Assembly now approachand as our intention was, we thocht it convenient, brieflie, to give you significationis of our meaning in wreit, of the whilk we pray you to take good consideration, and accordingly to give your advertisement; Ye are not ignorant, as we suppose, what hes been the estate of the kirk of God within this realme, haith before we acceptit the burding of Regment and sensyne. How first the thrids of benefices war grantit to the ministrie, hereby partly relievit and sustaintit in sic sort, that nothing inlaikit that our travells could procure. The first order indeed was diverse ways interruptit and broken in, but chiefly in that year when we were exyled in England, quherthrough that year the haill ministers war frustrat in their livings; shortlie the estate of government altering at Gods pleasure, and the King our soveraigne being inaugurate with the crown of this kingdom, the first thing we war careful of was, that trew religion might be established, and the ministers of the evangell made certain of their living and sustentation in time comeing. Ye knaw, at the Parliament we war maist willing that the kirk should have been put in full possession of the proper patromonie. And toward the thrids, we expedit in our travells, and inlaikit only a consent of the dissolution of the prelacies, whereunto although we were

earnestly bent, yet the estates delayit, and wald not agree thereunto. And sen that tyme to this houre, we trust ye will affirme, that we have pretermittit nothing that may advance the religione, and put the professors thereof in surtie, whereanent the haill and only inlaik hes been in the civill troubles that God hes suffered the cuntrie to be plagued with, now the matter being after so great rage brought to some stay and quietness, it was convenient that we return where matters left, and prease to reduce them to the estate they stand in. Ane thing we must call to remembrance, that at sic time as we travellit in the Parliament to cause the estates to grieve that the thrids should be discernit to appertaine to the ministrie, they plainly opponit them to us in respect of the first act alleadgand that with the sustentation of the ministrie, there was also regard to be had to the support of the prince, in sustaining of the publick chaarges, quhilles if they had not some reliefe be that meime, the revenue of the crown being so diminisched, and the ordinarie chaarges cume to sic grytnes, on force they wold be burdenit with exaction, and this dangerous argument compellit us to promitt to the estates, That we wald take upon us the act being grantit to the kirk, they should satisfy and agrie to any thing suld be thoct reasonable for supporting the publick chaarges of the prince, and according to this the Comission deput for the affaires of the kirk agriet to certain assignations of the thrids for supporting of the king and us, bearing authoritie. Quhilk order had been sufficient for the haill, give the civill trouble had not occurrit, yet the disobedience growand so universallie, we ar content to sustain ane part of the inlaik and loss for the tyme past, but because there hes been murmure and grudge for that thing assignit to the kings houss and ours, and some other needfull things in the state, as that thereby the ministers were frustrate of their appointit stipendis, some communicatione was had at St. Androis, and nothing yet concludit, quhill the general assembly of the kirk; quhilk now moves us [to] wreit to you in this forme, prayand you richtly to consider the necessitie of the cause, and how the same hes proceeded frae the beginning, haveing respect that the kirk will not be very well obeyit without the kings authoritie and power, and that now the propertie of the crowne is not able to sustaine the ordinarie chaarges. How in the beginning the thrids had not been grantit, give the necessitie of the prince had not been ane of the chief caussis, and at the parliament the estates, as we have before written, stak to consent that the haill thrids sould be declareit to pertaine to the ministrie, whill first we take in hand, that they being made without conditione in favours of the kirk. The same wald againe condescend to so meikle as wold

be sufficient to the support of the publick affaires, in supporting of the kings authoritie, and that therefore ye will now agrie, and condescend to ane certaine and speciall assignatione of it that sall be employit in this use. The quantity whereof diverse of yourselves, and the bearer hereof Mr. John Wood our servant, can informe you, that after ye may distribute to everie ane having chaarge in the kirk of God, his stipend according to the conditione of the place he serves in, according to your wise discretion. Hereby all confusione that lang has troublit the estate of the kirk toward the stipend shall be avoydit, and some speciall provisione being made for sustaining of their publick chaarges, we may the better hald hand to sie the kirk obeyit of that whereon the ministers should live, as they shall report, That dureing our travells in the north countrey, they have found our effectuous good will, and travellit in their furtherance. ffarder, we man put you in mind brieflie, of ane matter that occurrit at our late being in Elgine. Ane Nicoll Sudderland in fiores, was put to the knowledge of ane assyze for incest, and with him the woman; the assyze hes convict him of the fault, but the question is, whether the same be incest or not, so that we behovit to delay the executione whill we might have your resolutions at this assemblie. The case is, that the woman was harlot of before to the said Nicoll's mother brother, herein Mr. Robert Pont can informe you mair ampie, to whais sufficiencie we remitt the rest. Mairover, at our coming at Aberdeen, there came ane named Porterfield, minister provydit of before to the viccarage of Ardrossane, and required also of us, that he might have the viccarage of Steinsone, sieing both was ane matter meine aneuch to sustaine him, and because the kirks war neir, he might discharge the cure of both. We haveing him commendit be diverse great men to the same, but thoct guid to advertise you, that this preparatioun induce not evill example and corruption: always in eaise sic things occur hereafter, let us understand what ye would have us to doe, as in like manner towards the chaiplanries shall happen to vaike, whereanent because there is no certain order, and some confusion stands, some desyrand them for lyfyme, some for infants that are not of the schools, and some for seven years, we are sometye preasit to receave or confirme assignations or demissions of benefices, the preparature whereof appears to bring with it corruptione, and so we would be resolvit how to proceed, before our coming from ffyfe, and sensyne we have been very willing to do justice on all suspect persons of witchcraft, as also upon adulterers, incestuous persons, abusers of sacraments, quherein we could not have sic expeditione as we could have



wished, because we had no uther probabilitie whereby to try and convict them, but ane general delatione of names, the persons suspect not being for the maist part tryit and convict be order of the kirk before. This hinderit many things that utherwayes might have been done, and therefore we pray you appoint and preseryve how the judgement of the kirk may proceed and be execute, against all sic trespassors before complaint be made to us, that when we come to the cuntrie, we may cause execute the law, and be relievit of the triall of inquisitione heiranent. We thoct expedient to give you this for advertisement, and so remitts the haille to your care and diligence, committis you in the protectione of Eternall God.

Your assurit friend,  
James Regent.

Aberdene, Junii Ultimo, 1569.

END OF THE APPENDIX.

## SUPPLEMENT.

[THE following Poem in Memory of KNOX is exceedingly rare. I had in vain made inquiries after a copy of it, and was obliged, in p. 515, to signify my despair of finding one. But after that sheet was printed, I unexpectedly obtained a copy. As the tract, besides its connection with this work, is a curious specimen of the old Scottish language and versification, it is here exactly and entirely reprinted. The original is in the possession of Mr. Blackwood, Bookseller, Edinburgh, who accidentally met with it in London, after a fruitless search in the public libraries.]

**ANE BREIF COMMENDATIOVN  
OF VPRICHTNES, IN RESPECT OF THE SURENES**  
of the same, to all that walk in it, amplifyit chiefly be that  
notabill document of Goddis michtie protection, in pre-  
seruing his maist vpricht seruand, and feruent Messin-  
ger of Christis Euangell, Iohne Knox. Set furth  
in Inglis meter be M. Iohne Daudsone, Regent  
in S. Leonards College.

¶ Quhairunto is addit in the end ane schort discours of  
the Estaitis quha hes caus to deploir the deith of  
this Excellent seruand of God.

¶ PSALME. XXXVII.

¶ Mark the vpricht man, and behauld the Iust, for the  
end of that man is peace.

¶ IMPRENTIT AT SANCTAN-  
drois be Robert Lepreuik. Anno. 1573.

TO THE MAIST GODLIE, ANCIENT, AND WORTHIE  
 Schir Iohne Wischart of Pittarrow Knicht, M. Iohne David-  
 sone wissis the continuall assistanee of the Spreit of  
 God, to the end, and in that end.

CONSIDDERING with myself (maist worthie Knicht) the greit frailtie and vnsureness of all strenthis eirthly quhatsüener, quharin mā leifing god, vsis to put his traist on the ane part, and the sure fortres and saifgaird of vprichtnes, howbeit destitute of all aide warldly on the vther part: I culd not withhald my pen frō vttering of that praise and commendatioun of vprichtnes, quhilk in my mynde I had consaut of the same. Being cheifly mouit heirunto be the Miraculous (as I may weill call it) and maist wonderfull preservatioun of that maist notabill seruand of God, and sinceir Preicheour of Christis Euangell, Iohne Knox. Quha being bot of small estimatioun befor the evis of the warld (zit greit befor God) was hatit vnto the deith. And that euin be Kingis, Queenis, Princes, and greit men of the warld, and finally be all the rabill of Sathanis suddartis (a,) in Scotland, Ingland, and France. Zea, not only was he hatit, and railлит on, bot also persecutit maist scharpely, and huntit from place to place as ane vnworthie of ony societie with man. And althocht thay wer michtie and potent, zea, and wantit na euill will, and he on the vther syde ane pure man, alane, and oft tymes without help, or assistance of ye warld, zit was he michtely preservit, and as in a maist sure saifgard (all the wickits attentis quha thristit nathing mair nor his blude being frustrat) conducted to ane maist quyet, peaciabill and happy end, to the greit aduancement of Goddis glorie, and singulare comfort of his Kirk, and to the confusioun of Sathan and discōfort of all his wickit instrumentis. Thairfoir that this sa notabill and euidēt ane documēt of the louing cair of our god towardis his seruāds suld not with him be buryit bot abyde recent in memorie till all the inhabitants of this Realme in all ages to cum. I haue preissit (b) schortly in this lytill paper to mak, as it wer, ane memoriall of the same, and yat in that lāguage quhilk is maist cōmoun to this hail Realme, to the intent that asweill vnleirnit as leirnit may be pertakeris of the same. Not that I think myself abill to handill sa worthie ane mater worthelie in ony tōung, bpt that partly I may schaw my gude will in this mater, and partly

(a) soldiers.

(b) pressed, endeavoured.



to gif occasioun to vtheris, that baith hes mair dexteritie in sic thingis, and greiter opportunitie of tyme, to intreit the same at greiter lenth. That be calling to mynd this notabill exēpill of Godis louing cair towardis vs, we all in thir feirfull dayis (quhairin he that seis not tryall approaching neir is destitute of Iudgement) may be strenthnit and incourageit to ga fordwart vprichtly, euerie ane in our awin vocatioun, without deelyning outhir to the richt hand or to the left. And principally that our watche men faint not, nor begin to iouk (c,) or flatter with the world for feir of Tyrānis, bot that thay may haue brasin faces, and forheidis of Iron aganis the threitnings of the wickit, cōdempning impietie of all persounis in plane termis, following the ensāpill of this maist zelous seruād of God, of quhōe heirtofoir we haue maid mentioun, and that being assurit gif sa thay walk vprichtly in dischargeing of thair office, that thay ar in ye protectioun of the Almiehtie.

¶ And this small frute of my sober trauellis, I haue thoecht gude to offer and present to zow (maist worthie Kneicht) not sa mekill for that, that I thoecht it worthie to be presentit til ony : as that I wald let my gude will and grate (d) mynd, be the same appeir towardis zow, throw quhais procurement I obtenit the benefite of that godly and faithfull (thoecht mockit and falsly tradueit of the warld) societie, quhair of presently I am participant. For the quhilk I acknowledge me, and my humbill seruice alwayis addetit to zour honour. And howbeit (as I mon confes) nathing can proceed of me that may in ony wayis correspond to zour merit is towardis me : zit sal the thankfulness of mynd at na tyme (God willing) be deficient. Quhilk is to be acceptit, quhair vther thingis are lacking, in place of greit rewaird. And the rather haue I takin bauldness to dedicat this lytill Treatieis vnto zour honour, baith becaus I vnderstude, zow euer to haue bene sen zour Chyldheid, ane vnfenzeit fauourar, and mantenar to zour power of vprichtnes, quhais praise in this lytill Volume is intreatit. And also, that this notabill seruand of God (quhais miehtie preseruatioun, notwithstanding the wickitis rage, to ane quyet end, chiefly mufit me to this busines) was maist belufit of zow quhile he leuit, and yat for yat greit vprichtnes quhilk ze saw from tyme to tyme maist viuely expres the self in him. And finally, that your honour may be mufit heirby, as ze haue begunne and continewit to this day ane zelous professour of Goddis word, mantenar of the samin, and lufer of his seruandis : sa ze may perseueir to the end of zour lyfe, without selander to zour professioun, euer

(c) shift.

(d) grateful.

approuing the treuth, and haitting impietie in all persounis, not leaning to warldlie wisdom, nor louking for the plesure of greit men in the world: Sen nane of thir thingis, bot only vprichtnes can outhir mak ane plesand to God, or zit sure in this world. And sa traisting that zour honour will accept this my sober offer (till

God grant better occasioun of greter) intill gude part. I

commit zow to the protectioun of the Almiehtie, that

quhen it sall pleis God to tak zow furth of this mis-

erie, ze may end zour lyfe in the sanctificatioun

of his haly name. To quhome be praise

and Glorie, for euer. Amen.

From Sanctandrois the XVIII.

of February.

## ANE BREIF COMMENDATIOVN OF VPRICHTNES.

SEN that we se men till haue studyit ay.  
 Into this irth sie strenthis to prepair  
 As micht be saifgaird to thame nicht and day,  
 Quhen ony danger dang thame in dispair.  
 Wald thow gude Reider haue ane strenth preclair (e,) Prouer. 10.  
 Maist strang and stark to rin to in distres 12, 13, 18.  
 This lytill schedull sehortly sall declair Ecclesi. 9.  
 How that the surest Towre is vprichtnes. Ps. 25, 27, 91.

Quhilk vprichtnes we may descriue to be :  
 Ane traid of lyfe conforme to Godds command, Iob. 31.  
 Without all poysoun of Hypocrisie  
 Or turning to or fra, from hand to hand.  
 Bot stoutly at the word of God to stand. Prouer. 5.  
 Eschewing alwayis it for to transgres Psalm. 18.  
 Not bowing back for thame that contramand.  
 This wayis we may descriue this vprichtness.

For first thare is na Castell, Towre, nor Toun,  
 Nor naturall strenth, as Alexander sayis, Q. Curt. li. 7.  
 Bot mānis Ingyne may vineous and ding down,  
 As that he had experience in his dayis,  
 Na strenth was sure to thame that was his fais :  
 The Craig in Asia did beir witnes, Q. Curt. li. 7.  
 Howbeit in hicht vnto the sky it rais,  
 It was ouereum for laik of vprichtnes.

Euin sa that bailfull Bour of Babilone. Q. Curt. li. 5.  
 Na saifgaird was to Darius we reid, Jeremi. 51.  
 Suppois it was ane maist strang Dongeone.  
 And mony ma I micht declair in deid,  
 Bot sie exempellis Foraine nane we neid.  
 Quhat surenes fand the Bischopis halynes.  
 Into Dunbartane quhair he pat his Creid.  
 It was not half sa sure as vprichtnes.



The force of men gif ony will obtend,  
 Kinred, or friends to be ane gaird maist strang,  
 All is bot vane, thay can not man defend,  
 For quha mair surely into Royat (*f*) rang,  
 Nor the greit Conquerour his friendis amang, Q. Curt. lib. 10.  
 Zit was he poysonit as sum dois express,  
 Intill his Camp quhilk he had led sa lang,  
 Than quhat is force of man till vprichtnes.

Riches and rent we ken dois not abyde,  
 Bot flitts and foe his (*g*) euer to and fra,  
 Than vane it is in thame for to confyde,  
 Sen that we se thame asweill eum as ga,  
 Thairfoir my freindis sen that the cace is sa,  
 That warldly strenth can haue na siekernes,  
 Sum vther saifgaird surely we mon ha,  
 Quhilk is nocht ellis bot only vprichtnes.

Prouer. 11.  
 Eccles. 5.  
 Job 11.  
 Psalm. 49.  
 1. Timot. 6.  
 Zephan. 1.  
 Ecclesi. 2.  
 Nahum. 3.

Bot sum perchance that winks mair wylie,  
 Will say thay wait ane wyle (*h*) that I na wist,  
 With iouking thay will I angil (*i*) craftelie,  
 And on thair feit will ay licht quhen thay list :  
 Thinking all surenes thairin to consist :  
 Hypocresie is quent (*k*) with quyetnes,  
 Bot all begylit thay ar into the mist.  
 For nathing can be sure but vprichtnes.

For quhat become of fals Achitophell,  
 For als far as he saw befoir his neis,  
 The Scripture schawis I neid not heir to tell,  
 The lyke of this in mony Historeis,  
 I nicht bring furth that to my purpois greis,  
 How Hypocrites into thair craftynes,  
 Thame selfis hes trappit with greit misereis,  
 Becaus thay did eschew all vprichtnes.

2. Sam. 17.  
 Psalm. 7.  
 Ester 7.

Bot quha sa euer on the vther syde.  
 Hes preissit peirtly to leif vprichtlie.  
 And be the treuth bound bauldly till abyde :  
 Hes euer had the maist securitie.

Ester. 6.  
 Dani. 6.

(*f*) royalty.(*g*) changes situation.(*h*) know a trick.(*i*) juggle.(*k*) acquainted, or (perhaps) crafty.

For thay had God thair buckler for to be,  
 Quhome we mon grant to be and strang fortres, Psalm. 76.  
 Of quhome the Deuill can not get victorie Psalm. 89.  
 Nor all the enemies of vprichtnes.

Think weill my freindis this is na fenzeit fair (l) 1 Sam. 17. 18.  
 For quha sa list of Dauid for to reid, 19. 20. 21. 22.  
 May se quhat enemies he had alquhair, 29. 33.  
 And zit how surely he did ay proceid. 2 Sam. 2. 3. 5.  
 Becaus he walkit vprightly in deid. 8. 15. 16. 18.  
 He was mair sure from Saulis cruelnes, 20.  
 Nor gif ten thousand men intill his neid, 1 Sam. 23.  
 Had with him bene syne lackit vprichtnes.

Of sic exempills we nicht bring anew,  
 Bot ane thair is that priefis our purpois plane  
 Of Daniell that Propheyt wyse and trew, Dani. 6.  
 How oft was he in danger to be slane.  
 Into the Lyonis Den he fand na pane. Dani. 3.  
 The three Children the fyre did not oppres.  
 I think this only Historie nicht gane,  
 To preif how sure ane Towre is vprichtnes.

Bot zit becaus exempills fetchit far,  
 Mufis not so muche as thay thingis quhilk we se,  
 I purpois schortly now for to cum nar,  
 Vnto the but (m) quhair chiefly I wald be :  
 That is so schaw the prufe befor zour Ec.  
 Of thir premissis, as all mon confes  
 That hes sene God wirkig in this countrie,  
 How ane hes bene preseruit in vprichtnes.

It is Iohne Knox in deid quhome of I mene,  
 That feruent faithfull seruand of the Lord,  
 Quhome I dar bauldly byde at till haue bene.  
 Ane maist trew Preicheour of the Lordis word.  
 I rak nathing quhat Rebaldis (n) heir record,  
 Quha neuer culd speik gude of godlynes.  
 This man I say eschaipit fyre and sword,  
 And deit in peace, in praise of vprightnes.

(l) feigned affair. (m) butt, or mark.

(n) I regard nothing what worthless fellows, &c.

Bot that this may be maid mair manifest :  
 I will discurs sumthing in speeciall,  
 Tuiching this Lamp, on lyfe quhill he did lest,  
 First he descendit bot of lineage small.  
 As commounly God vsis for to call,  
 The sempill sort his summoundis til expres.  
 Sa calling him, he gaue him giftis with all  
 Maist excellent besyde his vprichtnes.

Amos. i. 7.

Mark 1.

1. Cor. 1.

Iaco. 2.

For weill I wait that Scotland neuer bure,  
 In Scottis leid (*o*) ane man mair Eloquent.  
 Into perswading also I am sure,  
 Was nane in Europe that was mair potent.  
 In Greik and Hebrew he was excellent,  
 And als in Latine tounghis propernes,  
 Was tryit trym quhen scollers wer present.  
 Bot thir wer nathing till his vprichtnes.

For fra the tyme that God anis did him call,  
 To bring thay joyfull newis vnto this land,  
 Quhilk hes illuminat baith greit and small,  
 He maid na stop bot passit to fra hand,  
 Idolatrie maist stoutly to ganestand :  
 And chiefly that great Idoll of the Mes.  
 Howbeit maist miehtie enemies he fand,  
 Zit schrinkit he na quhit from vprichtnes.

The greuous Galayis maid him not agast,  
 Althocht the Prelats gold in greit did geif,  
 Our schipburd in the sey him for to east,  
 He fand sic grace they sufferit him to leif.  
 Zea, mairatour thay did him not mischeif,  
 As thay did his Companzeounis mair and les,  
 With pynefull panis quhen thay thair pythis did preif.  
 God sa prouydit for his vprichtnes.

In Ingland syne he did eschaip the Ire,  
 Of Iesabell, that Monstour of Mahoun. (*p*)  
 In Scotland nixt with terrour him to tyre,  
 Thay brint his picture in Edinburgh Toun.  
 Bot sen to Scotland last he maid him boun, (*q*)  
 Quhat battell he hes bidden ze may ges,  
 Sen Dagon and thay Deuillis he gart ding down,  
 In spyte of thame that haitit vprichtnes.

(*o*) language.(*p*) the sl. vil(*q*) ready.



Thay that hes bene cheif in Authoritie,  
 For the maist part had him at deidly feid,  
 Zit he eschaipit all thair crueltie,  
 Howbeit oftymes thay did deuyse his deid,  
 Zea, sum wer knawin perfetely be the heid,  
 Quha vndertuke his Dirige for to dres,  
 Zit bauldly be his baner he abaid,  
 And did not iouk ane ioit from vprichtnes.

Bot chiefly anis he was put to ane preace, (r)  
 Quhen that the Quene of tressoun did accuse him  
 Befoir hir Lordis in haly Rudehous place.  
 Quhair clawbacks of the Court thoct till abuse him  
 Sa prudētly this Propheie yair did vse him,  
 Into refuting of thair fulschenes.  
 That all the haill Nobilitie did ruse (s) him.  
 And praisit God for his greit vprichtnes.

Quhen Quene and Court could not get him cōuiet.  
 Bot sa wer disappointit of thair pray,  
 Thay fryit in furie that he schaipit quick,  
 Zit at the leist to get thair wills sum way,  
 Thay wald haue had him wardit for ane day,  
 In Daueis Towre, zea, for ane hour or les,  
 It was denyit for oecht the Quene culd say.  
 Thair micht be sene how sure was vprichtnes.

Bot in quhat perrell trow ze he was last,  
 Quhen Edinburgh he left with hart full sair,  
 Doubtles na les nor ony that hes past,  
 In spyte thay spak that him thay suld not spair  
 Thay suld him schuit into the Pulpet thair  
 Becaus he did rebuke thair fylthenes,  
 And mischant (t) murther that infects the air,  
 Zit God preseruit him in vprichtnes.

Mony ma dangers nor I can declair,  
 Be sey and land this Propheie did sustene,  
 In France and Ingland, Scotland, heir and thair,  
 Qubilk I refer to thame that meir hes bene,  
 Intill his company and sic things sene.  
 Bot this far schortly I haue maid progress,  
 To preif how God maist surely dois mantene,  
 Sic as continew intill vprichtnes.

(r) press, difficulty.

(s) extol.

(t) wicked.

For this Excellent seruand of the Lord,  
 Vnto the deith was hatit as we knaw,  
 For sinceir preiching of the Lordis word  
 With Kingis, Princes, he estait and law,  
 Zit in thair Ire him micht thay not ouirthraw,  
 He did depart in peace and plesandnes:  
 For all the tronblis that he hard vs schaw  
 That he sustenit for lufe of vprichtnes.

And this is merwell gif we will considder,  
 Ane sempill man but (*u*) warldly force or aide,  
 Aganis quhome Kings and Princes did confidder (*v*),  
 How he suld fend (*w*) from furie and thair fead (*x*),  
 Syne leaue this lyfe with list for all thair plaid (*y*),  
 He had ane surer gaird we mon confes,  
 Nor ony worldly strenth that can be maid.  
 Quhilk was nathing bot only vprichtnes.

Bot sum may say quhairto suld thow prefer  
 This vprichtnes quhilk thow extolls sa hie  
 Vntill all warldly strenthis that éuer wer?  
 Sen that the contrair daylie we may se,  
 How upricht men ar murtherit mischantlie,  
 As first was Abell with greit cruelnes,  
 Gude lohne the Baptist, and als Zacharie,  
 Zea, Christ himself for all his vprichtnes.

Gene. 4.  
 Matth. 14.  
 2. Chron. 24.  
 Matth. 27.

Peter and Paull with mony ma sensyne.  
 And of lait zeiris in Ingland as we knaw,  
 How mony piteously was put to pyne.  
 And now in France that schame is for to schaw.  
 James our gude Regent rakkin in that raw (*z*),  
 Quha had rung zit wer not his richteousnes.  
 Sa, I can se nathing sa sone ouirthraw,  
 Man in this irth as dois this vprichtnes.

Euseb. To. 4.  
 fol. 7.  
 Vide Sleidanum.

To this I answer into termis sehort,  
 Quhen warldly strenth is vineust and maid waist, Prouer. 11  
 With it man tynis baith courage and comfort,  
 Quhen it is tynt quhairin he pat his traist:

(*u*) without.                      (*v*) confederate.                      (*w*) defend.  
 (*x*) enmity.                                      (*y*) plea, controversy.  
 (*z*) reckon in that rank

Bot quha that deith in vprichtnes dois taist,  
 Sall haue the lyfe that lests with joyfulness,  
 Sa thay ar sure, becaus thay ar imbraist  
 Be the Eternall for thair vprichtnes.

Prouer. 11.  
 Matth. 16.

Bot this sa lichtly we may not pass by :  
 I grant indeed quha preissis vprichtlie  
 To serue the Lord mon first them selfis deny,  
 And na wayis dres to daut (a) thame daintelie  
 Bot thame prepair for troublis Identlie, (b)  
 For troublis ar the bage thay mon posses,  
 Sen Sathan ceisis not continuallie.  
 To troubill thame that followis vprichtnes.

Matth. 16.  
 2. Timo. 3.  
 Psalm. 34.  
 1. Pet. 5.  
 Iob. 1.

Quhyllis harling (c) thame befor Princes and Kings, Luc. 21.  
 As rauing Rebalds rudelie to be rent. 1. Reg. 10.  
 Accusing thame of troubling of all things, 1. Reg. 17.  
 As cankerit Carlis that can not be content,  
 Except all things de done be thair consent :  
 Now scornit, now scourgeit, now bād with bitternes, Math. 27.  
 Imprissonit, and sindrie fassiounis schent, (d) Jeremi. 38.  
 And sum tymes dreuin to deith for vprichtnes. Act. 12.

This is thair lote oftymes I will not lane (e)  
 Into this irth that vse to be vpricht,  
 Bot quhat of this ? my purpois zit is plane :  
 That is, that thay ar surer day, and nicht,  
 For all this wo, not outhly warldly wicht.  
 For in thair conscience-is mair quyettes  
 In greitest troublis, nor the men of nicht  
 Hes in thair Castells, without vprichtnes.

Psalm. 91.  
 Psalm. 118.

For quhen Belshazzer greit King of the Eist,  
 Ane thousand of his Princes had gart call,  
 Drinkand the wyne befor thame at the Feist,  
 Intill his prydefull Pomp Imperiall :  
 Euin in the middis of this his mirrie hall  
 He saw ane sicht that sank him in sadnes,  
 Quhen he persaut the fingers on the wall,  
 Wrying his wrak for his vnvprichtnes.

Dani. 5.

(a) cherish.

(b) diligently.

(c) dragging

(d) maimed, or disgraced.

(e) conceal



Quhat sall I say I neid not till insist,  
 To schaw how thay to God that dois Rebell,  
 In thair maist micht can not be haldin blist,  
 For in this warld thay do begin thair hell,  
 As Cain did that slew the iust Abell,  
 Within thair breist thay beir sic bailfulnes,  
 That tounge of men can not the teynd part tell,  
 Of inwart torments for vnvrichtnes.

Gene. 4.  
 Esai. 66.  
 Prouer. 15.

Bot thay that walks vprichtly with the Lord,  
 In greitest troublis wantis not inwart rest,  
 As the Apostillis dounge (*f*) for Godds word,  
 Reioysit that for Christ sa thay wer drest.  
 Peter in prisone sleipit but molest.  
 Paull in the stocks and Syllas with glaidnes,  
 Did sing ane Psalme at midnicht, sa the best  
 Surenes that man can haue, is vprichtnes.

Prouer. 14.  
 Act. 5.  
 Act. 12.  
 Act. 16.

Sa be this surenes now I do not mene,  
 That Godds seruands ar neuer tane away,  
 Be cruell men, for the contrair is sene,  
 For God oftymes of his Iudgements I say,  
 Letts thame so fall, as thoecht befor the day :  
 To plague the warld for thair vnthankfulnes,  
 Quhilk is not worthie of sic men as thay.  
 Bot I mene this be strenth of vprichtnes.

Esai. 3.  
 Heb. 11.

That quhen it plesis God to let thame fall,  
 Thay haue sic inwart comfort without cair,  
 That thay depart with ioy Angelicall,  
 Of lyfe assurit that lestis for euer mair.  
 And zit sum tyme he dois his seruands spair,  
 To let the Tyrannis se his michtines,  
 In spyte of thame, that he can his alquhair,  
 Preserue maist surely intill vprichtnes.

Act. 7.  
 2. Timot. 4.  
 Esai. 41.  
 Ierem. 14. 5.

Quhilk we haue sene as we can not deny,  
 Into Iohne Knoxis michtie preservation,  
 Quhilk till our comfort we suld all apply,  
 I mene that ar the Faithfull Congregatioun.  
 Sen he departit with sic consolatioun  
 Euin as he leuit, he deit in Faithfulnes,  
 Being assurit in Christ of his Salutatioun,  
 As in the end he schew with vprichtnes.

(*f*) beat, or scourged.

Sa is he past from pane to plesure ay,  
 And tili greit eis doutles vntill him sell,  
 Bot for ane plague till vs I dar weill say,  
 As sair I feir we sall heir schortly tell,  
 Schir wink at vice (*g*) beginnis to tune his bell.  
 Bot on this heid na mair I will digres,  
 That gude men hes mair rest in all perrell  
 Nor wickit in thair welth but vprichtnes.

Then sen always we se that men ar sure  
 Throw vprichtnes quhiddel thay liue or die, Psalm 37.  
 Let all gude Cristianes Imploy thair cure,  
 In thair vocation to leif vprichtlie,  
 And chiefly let all preicheouris warrit be,  
 That this day God and the gude caus profes,  
 Na wayis to wink at sic Impietie Tit. 1.  
 And chiefly dois withstand all vprichtness.

Taking exempill of this Propheit plane,  
 Quhome heir befoir we breuit in this bill (*h*),  
 Quha Godds reuelit will wald neuer lane,  
 Quhen men begouth for to delyte in ill,  
 He wald not wane ane wy (*i*) for na mānis will  
 For to rebuke Erle, Barrone, or Burges,  
 Quhen in thair wickit wayis thay walkit still.  
 Follow this Lamp I say of vprichtnes.

Let nouthur lufe of friend, nor feir of fais,  
 Mufe zow to mank (*k*) zour Message, or hald bak  
 And iot of zour Commissioun ony wayis Psalm. 40.  
 Call ay quhite, quhite, and blak. that quhilk is blak, Esai. 5.  
 Ane Gallimafray (*l*) neuer of thame mak :  
 Bot ane gude caus distingue from wickitnes, 2. Timoth. 2.  
 This kynd of phrais sumtymes this Propheit spak  
 Quhen he saw sum not vsing vprichtnes.

In generall do not all things innolue,  
 Thinking zour selfis discharge it than to be, 2 Timot. 2.  
 Thocht na mānis mynd in maters ze resolute  
 For (zit till vse this same mānis Elogie)

(*g*) Sir Wink-at-vice, an allegorical character. (*h*) described in this work.

(*i*) probably *waynd and wee*, i. e. swerve a little. (*k*) curtail.

(*l*) a hotch potch.

To speik the treuth, and speik the treuth trewlie, Num. 23. 24.  
 Is not a thing (*m*) (said he) brethren doutles.  
 Thairfoir speik trewly but Hypocrisie,  
 Gif ze wald haue the praise of vprichtnes.

Let vice ay in the awin cullouris be kend 2. Timot. 4.  
 Butbeiring with, or zit extenuatioun  
 Schawing how heichly God it dois offend, Act. 10.  
 Sparing na stait that makes preuaricatioun; Esai. 58.  
 Let it be sene till all the Congregatioun, 1. Timot. 5.  
 That ze sie haitrent haue at wickitnes  
 That ze mon dampne thair greit abhominatioun,  
 Quha planely fechtis aganis all vprichtnes.

Quhilk tred of doctrine gif ze anis begin Psalm. 38.  
 I grant the Deuill and warld will be agane zow Psalm. 41.  
 The feid of fremmit, and craibing of zour kin (*n*)  
 Erst ze sall find, syne terrour to constraine zow  
 To syle the suith (*o*.) and sunze (*p*.) I will plane (*q*) zow.  
 The Zoek is not sa licht as some dois ges. Nahum. 1.  
 Bot zit haue ze na dreid quha do disdane zow, Psalm. 31.  
 Sen that zour fortres sure is vprichtnes. Psalm. 34.

For pleis it God zour lyfe to lenthen heir,  
 Thoeht all the warld aganis zow wald conspyre,  
 Thay sall not haue the power zow to deir, (*r*)  
 Albeit thay rage and rin wod (*s*) in thair Ire,  
 And gif that God thinks gude be sword or fyre,  
 To let zow fall be ay in reddynes :  
 Being assurit that heuin salbe zour hyre, 2. Timot. 4.  
 Because ze endit sa in vprichtnes.

Let not the lufe of this lyfe temporall,  
 Quhilk ze mon lose, but let quhen ze leist wene (*t*)  
 Stay zow to cois (*u*) with lyfe Celestiall,  
 Quhen euer that the chois cumis thame betwene.  
 Christis sentence in zour gardene keip ay grene,  
 Quha sanis his lyfe sall loise it not the les. Math. 16.  
 Quhilk euin into this warld hes oft bene sene,  
 Qubat gaine is than to deny vprichtnes ?

(*m*) one thing. (*n*) the hostility of strangers, and anger of relations.  
 (*o*) conceal the truth. (*p*) anxiety. (*q*) plainly tell.  
 (*r*) injure. (*s*) mad. (*t*) without hindrance, when ye least think.  
 (*u*) barter.



Than to conclude, sen in thir dangerous dayis  
 Sa mony terrours Tyranis casts befor zow  
 Call vpon God to strenthen zow alwayis  
 That with his haly Spreit he will decoir zow  
 As he hes done his servands ay befor zow  
 That ze may neuer wink at wickitnes Esai. 51.  
 With Gun & Gainze (v) thoct thay boist to gor zow  
 Sen that zour Towre sa sure is vprichtnes.

¶ FINIS. M. I. D.

ANE SCHORT DIS-  
 CVRS OF THE ESTAITIS  
 quha hes cans to deploir the deith  
 of this Excellent seruand  
 of God.

THOW pure contempnit Kirk of God,  
 In Scotland scatterit far abroad,  
 Quhat leid (a) may let the to lament:  
 Sen baith the Tyger and the Tod,  
 Maist cruellie cummis the to rent.  
 Thow wants ane watcheman that tuke tent,  
 Baith nicht and day that nocht suld noy the,  
 Allace thow wants the Instrument,  
 That was thy Lanterne to conuoy the.

Thy lemand (b) Lamp that sehew sic licht.  
 Was gude Iohne Knox, ane man vpricht,  
 Quhais deith thow daylie may deploir,  
 His presence maid thy bewtie bricht,  
 And all thy doings did decoir,  
 He did him haillie indeuoir,  
 Thy richteous actioun to mantene,  
 And libertie to the restoir,  
 Pleading thy caus with King and Quene.

He neuer huntit benefice,  
 Nor catchit was with Couatice,  
 Thoct he had offers mony one:  
 And was als meit for sic Office

(v) *gainze* seems to signify sometimes "an engine for throwing weapons," and sometimes "the weapon thrown." (a) lay or song. (b) shining, blazing.

As outhir gellie (c) Iok or Iohne,  
 His mynd was ay sa the vpon,  
 Thy only weilfair was his welth,  
 Thairfoir lament sen he is gone,  
 That huikit nathing (d) for thy helth.

Lament Assemblie Generall,  
 At thy Conuentionis ane, and all,  
 For thow will mis ane Moderatour,  
 Quhais presence mufit greit, and small,  
 And terrifeit baith theif and tratour,  
 With all vnrewlie Rubiatour (e),  
 Thair ioukers durst not kyith thair cure,  
 For feir of Fasting in the Fratour (f),  
 And tynsall of the charge thay bure.

Bot now I feir that thow sall se,  
 Greit missing of that man to be,  
 Quhen craftie heidis sall na mair hyde.  
 The hurde (g) of thair Hypocrisie,  
 Bot all sinceirnes set asyde.  
 With policie will all things gyde,  
 Thir Balamis birds sair may thow feir:  
 Thairfoir be Godds buke abyde,  
 And to sic Bablers giue na eir.

Giue strange opiniounis enteris in,  
 Tak tent quha sic thingis dois begin,  
 And with sic matteris mynts to mell,  
 For Sathan ceisis not fra sin,  
 The Kirk of Christ seiking to quell.  
 Sic foly faill not to refell:  
 For quhen the reik beginnis to ryse,  
 The fyre will follow as thay tell,  
 Be it not quencheit be the wyse.

Bot chiefly murne and mak thy mane,  
 Thow Kirk of Edinburgh allane,  
 For thow may rew by (h) all the rest.  
 That this day thow wants sickin ane,  
 Thy Speciall Pastour: and the best  
 That ony Kirk had Eist, or west.  
 He did comfort the in all cair,

(c) good fellow, *bon vivant*. (d) thought nothing too much.  
 (e) raga nuffin, vagabond, (f) fraternity, alluding to the fast-  
 (g) treasure. (h) above. ings of the friars.

And the fairwairnd of thy molest,  
Quhairby thou might prepair.

There was na troubill come to the,  
Bot he foirspak it oppinlie,  
Thocht sum the mater than did mock,  
Gif he spak suith now thou may se,  
This day thy heid is in the zock,  
God send the blyithnes of this block,  
And freith the from thy fais aboue the,  
For thou art the maist feruent flock  
That Scotland beiris, as deid dois proue the.

And giue God sa handills the best,  
Allace quhat sall eum of the rest,  
Except repentance rin and red :  
It is ane Mirrour manifest,  
Of dule and dolour to be dred,  
To fall on thame this barret (*i*) bred.  
Bot till our purpois to returne,  
Thocht of this feir thou salbe fred,  
Zit hes thou mater for to murne.

Becaus that wateheman thou dois want,  
That the in puritie did plant,  
And comfortit thy Congregation :  
Bot zit thoct he be gane I grant  
The Lord can send the consolatioun,  
Gif thou giue him dew adoratioun,  
He will not leaue the comfortles.  
As alreddy thou hes probatioun,  
God grant thy Preicheours vprichtnes.

¶ Ze Lords also that dois frequent,  
The Loft in Sanct Geills Kirk lament,  
That Bogill (*k*) thair that ze hard blaw,  
With quhome quhyles ze wer small content;  
For the schairp threitnings he did schaw :  
Zit thay maid zow sumquhat stand aw,  
Thocht not so mucche as neid requyrit :  
This day in graue he lyis full law,  
Quhilk langtyme was of him desyrit.

(*i*) trouble, contention.

(*k*) bugle-horn.



For seing all things not go weill,  
 He said thair suld not mis ane reill.  
 That suld the cheifest walkin vp.  
 Gif he said suith this day ze feill,  
 Luke gif God hes begun to quhup,  
 Bot thair byds zit ane sowrer Cup,  
 Except zour maners ze amend,  
 The dreggs but dout als ze sall sup,  
 From quhilk danger God zow defend.

Sanctandris als not to leif out,  
 His deith thou may deploir but dout,  
 Thow knawis he lude the by the laue (l)  
 For first in the he gaue the rout,  
 Till Antechrist that Romische slaue,  
 Preicheing that Christ did only saue.  
 Bot last, of Edinburgh exprest,  
 Quehen he was not far fra his graue,  
 He come to the by all the rest.

God grant that thow may thankfull be.  
 For his greit graces schawin to the,  
 In sending the his seruands trew,  
 Amen. Thow heiris na mair of me.  
 Bot Kyle, and Cuninghame may rew,  
 Als sair as ony that I schew,  
 To quhome this darling was maist deir.  
 And vther gentill men anew,  
 Quhome I haue not reheirsit heir.

Than last of all to turne to zow,  
 That wer our brethren, bot not now:  
 God grant agane ze may cum hame,  
 For we suld wis zour weill I vow,  
 As also did this man be Name,  
 Thocht sum said he did zow defame.  
 He prayit to God that ze micht turne,  
 That ze micht schaip Eternall schame,  
 Thairfoir zour part is als to murne.

(l) Thou knowest he loved thee above the rest

For doutles he was mair zour freind,  
 Nor thay that winkit, or manteind  
 Zour fulische factioun and vnfair.  
 In deid that ze suld not susteind,  
 He thunderit threitnings to the air,  
 To terrifie zow mair and mair,  
 And rug (*m*) zow back that ze micht rew  
 For he knew perseueird ze thair,  
 Ze wer bot schipwrak but reskew. (*n*)

Than all this land thow may lament.  
 That thow lacks sic ane Instrument,  
 Till sum not plesand, zit, sa plane,  
 That all the godly was content.  
 Allace his lyke he left not ane,  
 Nor I feir sall not se agane:  
 Bot zit let vs nawayis dispair,  
 For quhy our God dois zit remane,  
 Quha can and will for his prepair.

For thocht his deith we do deploir,  
 Zit is he not our God thairfoir:  
 As wickit warldlings wald obtend,  
 Gone is zour God quhairin ze gloir,  
 The leuing God we mak it kend,  
 Is he, on quhome we do depend,  
 Quha will not leaue vs in distres,  
 Bot will his seruands till vs send,  
 Till gyde vs throw this wildernes.

Thairfoir letting thir Bablers be,  
 Quhais cheif Religiun is to lie,  
 And all Godds seruands to backbyte,  
 Traducing this man principallie:  
 Let thame spew out in thair dispyte,  
 All that thay will be word or wryte.  
 Lyke as him self is into gloir,  
 Sa sall all ages ay reeyte,  
 Iohne Knoxis Name, with greit decoir.

(*m*) pull.

(*n*) without rescue

¶ FINIS.

## QVAM TVTVM

SIT PROPVGNACVLVM, DEO  
sine fūco inseruire, ex mirifica eximii Dei  
serui IOANNIS KNOXII, intranquillum vitæ  
exitum, illis omnibus impiorum conatibus,  
conseruatione, & eius exemplum sequi, mo-  
nemur.

QVEM petiere diu crudeles igne tyranni,  
Sæpius & ferro quem petiere duces.  
Occubuit (mirum) nullo violatus ab hoste,  
Eximius Christi KNOXIVS ille sator.  
Nam pater Æthereus Regum moderatur habenas,  
Electosque potens protegit vsque suos.  
Muniat hinc igitur nostras fiducia mentes,  
Ne mors nos tetricis terreat vlla minis.  
Quoq; minus trepidi sistamus tramite recto,  
Huius ne pigeat vieure more viri.

¶ FINIS. Quod M. I. D.

END OF THE SUPPLEMENT.



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